# The Nation

FOUNDED 1865

Vol. CXXXI NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1930 No. 3410


## Contents


EDITORIAL PARAGRAPHS ..... 511
EDITORIALS:
The Right to Criticize ..... 514
Relief by Publicity ..... 515
The Menace of Fascism ..... 515
Away with Realism! ..... 516
CHAINS VERSUS INDEPENDENTS. I. THE PRICE WAR. By Edward G. Ernst and Emil M. Hartl ..... 517
BRITISH LABOR FALTERS. By Devere Allen ..... 519
ON THE COLLEGE FRONTIER. VII. CIVILIZING TEACHER TRAINING. By T. L. Scholtz ..... 521
BACKWOODS BEHAVIOR. By Charles Morrow Wilson ..... 523
IN THE DRIFTWAY. By the Drifter ..... 524
CORRESPONDENCE ..... 525
BOOKS, DRAMA, FILMS:
Memoir. By Irwin Edman ..... 527
Charles Horton Cooley. By Henry Hazlitt ..... 527
Unrealized Realism. By V. F. Calverton ..... 528
The Mandate System. By William MacDonald ..... 528
The Victorian Tragedy. By Morton Dauwen Zabel ..... 529
Armageddon. By James B. Wharton ..... 530
Lecky, 1930 Style. By William Seagle ..... 530
Books in Brief ..... 531
Drama: "Roar China" at the Guild. By John Mason Brown ..... 533
Films: The Romantic Western. By Alexander Bakshy ..... 534
CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE ..... 536
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SECTION:
The Evils of Higher Education ..... 537



OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, Editor
HENRY RAYMOND MUSSEY, Managing Editor
Associate Editors
DOROTHY VAN DOREN FREDA KIRCHWEY
MAURITZ A. HALLGREN ARTHUR WARNER
Dramatic Editor JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH
Literary Editor HENRY HAZLITT
Contributing Editors
JOHN A. HOBSON HEYWOOD BROUN H. L. MENCKEN
NORMAN THOMAS LEWIS S. GANNETT CARL VAN DOREN
MARK VAN DOREN LUDWIG LEWISOHN
DAVID BOEHM, Advertising Manager



Subscription Rates: Five dollars per annum postpaid in the United States and Mexico; to Canada, $5.50; and to foreign countries of the Postal Union, $6.00.

THE NATION, No. 20 Vesey Street, New York City, Cable Address: Nation, New York. British Agent of Subscriptions and Advertising, Miss Gertrude M. Cross, 23 Brunswick Square, London, W. C. 1, England.


ELECTION RETURNS received up to the time of going to press show a Democratic sweep that insures continued coalition control in the Senate and that may possibly give the Democrats an actual majority in the House when the returns are all in. Democratic Senators will replace Republicans in Massachusetts, West Virginia, Ohio, Minnesota, Oklahoma, and Colorado, while only in Iowa, where Senator Steck won six years ago on a fluke, did the Democrats lose a seat. With Kentucky, South Dakota, and Kansas still doubtful, it seems certain that the Democrats will hold at least forty-five seats in the Senate. The Republican majority of 103 in the present House is cut almost to nothing, and may be wiped out. Even if the Republicans carried most of the unreported districts, their grip on the House would be very shaky, and President Hoover during his last two years will certainly face a Congress in neither branch of which can he count on a dependable majority. The Democratic victory extends to all sections of the country, and carries into office Democratic governors in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Ohio, to say nothing of the tremendous victory of Roosevelt in New York. The Administration has received a sweeping rebuke from the voters, as was to be expected in view of the severe business depression. On the prohibition issue, which was an issue despite Senator Fess, Rhode Island by a vote of two to one and Illinois by a heavy majority carried referenda for the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, while Massachusetts by referendum repealed its State enforcement act.

THE ELECTION of Dean Wilbur L. Cross, Democrat, as governor of Connecticut and that of Edward Costigan, Democrat, for Senator from Colorado are among the pleasantest features of an otherwise dull election. The spectacle of a Democrat and a doctor of philosophy winning the governorship in a sturdy Republican fastness like Connecticut is particularly heart-warming. Senator Norris of Nebraska has come happily through his trials to reelection, and has once more proved that he can beat the concerted efforts of the Power Trust to remove him from his Senatorial seat. The reelection of Senator Walsh, Democrat, of Montana is indicated as we go to press, as is that of Gifford Pinchot for Governor of Pennsylvania, the latter another triumph for opponents of the great public utility companies. Dwight Morrow has easily defeated former State Senator Alexander Simpson in New Jersey, as everyone predicted that he would. He will now go to the Senate for six years, with every opportunity, by the display of wisdom, high principles, and sufficient political acumen, to serve the country and at the same strengthen his own Presidential chances when it shall please fate to call upon him. Probably the most complete if not entirely surprising overturn is the triumph of James Hamilton Lewis, Democrat, over Mrs. Ruth Hanna McCormick. In Cook County it is estimated that Lewis's plurality may be 600,000, in a district that Calvin Coolidge took in 1924 by 462,000. Mrs. McCormick may have lost a few votes because she was a woman running for the United States Senate, but she undoubtedly lost more for her straddle of the prohibition question, for her indefensible tactics during the campaign, and her expenditure of upwards of a quarter of a million dollars for her nomination. And finally, the voters of Alabama have had their revenge on Thomas J. Heflin, who so far forgot his party as to support Herbert Hoover two years ago; Senator Heflin is evidently to lose his seat by almost a two-to-one vote to John H. Bankhead.

THE ENORMOUS VOTE given Governor Roosevelt by New York City, a plurality of 556,000 over his Republic opponent, Charles H. Tuttle, is an indication of Mr. Roosevelt's personal popularity in the city, and it is also the answer of New Yorkers to charges of Tammany corruption and graft. The city could find only 6,662 votes for Heywood Broun for Congress, and while this is an admirable showing for a Socialist candidate, it is a pity that Mr. Broun was not permitted to exercise his undoubted zeal in the public interest and his charming gifts in the House of Representatives. Norman Thomas, Judge Jacob Panken, and B. Charney Vladeck, while gaining sizable totals, did not capture a single Socialist seat in Congress. One can but hope that at some time in the not too distant future sufficient voters will be found to elect them to office.


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WITH THE RECONVENING of the Preparatory Disarmament Commission in Geneva the various delegations appear sincerely anxious, if not actually alarmed, over the failure of the commission to make any substantial progress whatever. They have approached the new session, which is the seventh to be held since the work was first organized in 1926, with an extraordinary show of optimism, but unfortunately with their individual programs and viewpoints unchanged. Fifteen major points remain to be settled before the commission can prepare the draft treaty, which, when finished, is to be considered by the general disarmament conference provided for in the League of Nations Covenant. These points have been the principal obstacles to agreement in the six previous sessions. They include the limitation of armaments budgets, which the United States opposes; the question of war potentials, such as industries and natural resources, which France insists must be considered in measuring the war strength of any country; the problem of air armaments, which hinges upon the failure to define a military airplane; and the dispute over trained reserves, which was only tentatively settled a year ago. Selfish demands and national needs must be sacrificed or modified if success is to be achieved. The alternative may be a collapse of the whole disarmament movement.

GERMANY FOR ONE is growing restless over the continued failure of the victorious nations to agree to a reduction of their armaments as solemnly promised at the peace conference. The Versailles treaty compelled Germany to cut its army to 100,000 men, to place that army on a long-term enlistment basis, to destroy its fortifications, and to limit its navy to a handful of cruisers. Under the League Covenant the other countries have likewise undertaken to limit their fighting forces. After eleven years this promise has not been fulfilled. Germany, relatively defenseless, finds itself confronted by a number of Powers which have built up rather than reduced their armies. It should not be surprising, therefore, to learn that Berlin is becoming increasingly impatient over the lack of progress at Geneva with regard to disarmament. The German delegation is determined to obtain action of some sort at the present session. Another failure would most certainly strengthen the anti-treaty forces at home and might conceivably force Germany to accuse the other Powers of having violated the Versailles treaty and the League Covenant and to announce that Germany can no longer consider itself bound by the disarmament provisions of those agreements.

RAY LYMAN WILBUR, Secretary of the Interior, is still president of Stanford University on leave of absence. According to Mercer Johnston, of the People's Legislative Service, Secretary Wilbur up to October 23 continued to draw his salary as president of the university, although federal law prohibits any government official or employee from receiving a salary from any other source than the federal government. We wonder what would have been the public outcry if it had been disclosed that Secretary Mellon, for example, had continued to draw a salary as president of the Mellon National Bank at the same time that he was Secretary of the Treasury. Yet the principle involved is exactly the same in the two cases, and the federal statute makes no exception in favor of officers of educational or philanthropic institutions. Does the President deny Mr. Johnston's charge? If not, he admits that his Secretary of the Interior is subject to a fine of not less than $1,000 and imprisonment for not less than six months—which is an interesting situation.

THE WISCONSIN AMERICAN LEGION, according to an Associated Press dispatch, recommends that men out of work be allowed to enlist in the army reserves for the duration of the business depression, drawing regular army pay. If there are not barracks enough the men can build rough shelters to keep themselves busy. A New York magistrate has sentenced twenty-three unemployed men to thirty-day terms in the workhouse on a charge of vagrancy, for sleeping in a railroad ferry terminal. Will some humanitarian sage be arising next to suggest that the unemployed be turned over to the medical schools for purposes of vivisection? At the opening of Parliament Prime Minister MacDonald reported the statement of an American industrialist that if our figures were compiled on the same basis as England's, they would show 10,000,000 to 12,000,000 persons out of work. The reply of officials of the Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Census Bureau is enough to make thoughtful Americans sit in sackcloth and ashes. These officials boldly point out that nobody can know the amount of unemployment in this country, because no effort to compile national figures has ever been made outside the unsatisfactory census attempt of last spring. Was there ever a more complete exhibit of our supreme indifference to a fundamental question of social welfare?

THE MERGER MOVEMENT that was so conspicuous a feature of last year's great bull market has been halted by the depression. Yet the New York *Times* reports sixty-nine important mergers consummated during the present year up to October 18. While many involve fairly large companies they represent no such huge totals of capitalization as the fantastic figures of last year. The combinations now being formed are made chiefly for the purpose of increasing financial strength and industrial efficiency under existing conditions of stress, not for the sake of selling stocks to a gullible public, and most of this year's mergers have been accomplished by an exchange of stock. The strong are swallowing the weak. The combination movement in American industry has been going forward more or less continuously, though irregularly, for half a century. The promoters have always assured the public that the end of the movement was to produce more cheaply and efficiently, and in some cases such has been the result, but the present situation shows clearly enough that the immediate motive to mergers during the last great upswing of business was the profits that could be made by selling the stocks of combinations at a time when the public would buy anything. The bankers are reported as believing that in view of the large losses attending many of last year's mergers, "it will be some time before the investing public will be in a receptive frame of mind for similar activities." Let the promoters and their bankers not despair. One is born every minute.

THE NEW RULES of procedure published by the Tariff Commission on October 3 have been characterized as the most important development in tariff-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

making practice in many years. Their purpose is to speed up action, and their essence is to substitute for the extensive field investigations made by the commission's staff under the old rules public hearings before the commission, plus a minimum of checking by investigators in the field. The burden of proof, it is pointed out, is thus put on applicants for a change. What is not pointed out is that such hearings by themselves are practically worthless in establishing a reliable factual basis for tariff rates, and that proponents of higher duties are always on hand with plausible reasons for their demands. Innocents who expected to see the rates of the Hawley-Smoot act lowered by commission action may be interested in an Associated Press dispatch stating that a request for a 50 per cent increase in the existing duty on pig iron was laid *unopposed* before the commission at its second public hearing on October 30. Mr. H. N. Waybright, the sole witness, representing the Eastern furnace men, pointed out that the existing depression, plus foreign pig-iron imports and "offerings," had closed all but three merchant furnaces in the principal Eastern producing section, though freight rates prevent foreign iron going more than 200 miles inland. Let the duties therefore go up, let pig-iron prices be raised along the seaboard, and prosperity will come back with a bang under the sacred principle of flexibility.

A FINE OF $2,000 has just been levied by the State of South Carolina on Oconee County, South Carolina, for the lynching, last spring, of one Allen Green, Negro, charged with rape. This is in accordance with a State lynching law which provides that the sum named may be collected from any county in which a lynching takes place and may thereupon be paid to the family of the unfortunate man who has been lynched. However, the law has been invoked only once or twice since its inception, and would probably not have been in this case except that indubitable evidence was adduced to show that an Oconee County mob had carelessly lynched the wrong man. The case ran true to form in that the trials of persons charged with complicity in the lynching were postponed "on account of the heat," and evidently so far South Carolina has not cooled off to a point where they may be resumed. The law itself will come as a surprise to many persons in this country. A similar provision was incorporated in the federal anti-lynching measure which just failed of passage in Congress several years ago, and which this year, because of the increase in the number of lynchings, may have a chance of being successfully revived. If the federal government could levy—and collect—a sufficiently large sum of money from any county in which a lynching took place, sheriffs might be a little more determined in protecting their Negro prisoners and might be less easily "overcome" by mobs of armed men.

WITH THOSE OPPOSED to the Machado regime in Cuba deprived of the right to express their opposition through the ballot box, only a small percentage of Cuba's citizens went to the polls on November 1 to elect a new Congress. It has been contended by the leaders of the outlawed Nationalist Party that a large majority of Cubans are opposed to Machado and that if an opposition party had been in the field the voters would have turned out in great numbers to register their dissatisfaction with the present government. But Machado and the Congress refused to permit the Nationalists to present an independent ticket, with the result that only candidates of the Liberal, Conservative, and Popular parties were voted on, and these parties are not only pledged to support Machado, but are actually controlled by him. This doubtless explains the otherwise surprising apathy of the voters in the congressional elections. Less than 50 per cent, some observers say as few as 30 per cent, of the registered voters went to the polls. In a number of districts the voting places were not even opened. The voting of November 1 cannot be considered a satisfactory test of Machado's oft-repeated assertion that he has the support of a vast majority of Cuban citizens; it rather indicates a remarkable absence of enthusiasm for his policies.

THE FEDERATION OF LABOR of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, has been taken with a bright idea. It is to petition the merchants of Cedar Rapids to discharge their married women employees and replace them by men out of work. However, the members of the federation are not unaware that some men out of work are kept from the bread line only by their wives who are so fortunate as to be gainfully employed. They qualify their request, therefore, by saying that they do not want working wives discharged if their wages are necessary to the family budget, but only if they are working to "clothe themselves better than would be possible if they depended on their husbands' earnings." Accordingly, all the married ladies of Cedar Rapids who are working merely to pass the time away and to deck themselves out in finer plumage than decency requires will probably find themselves out of a job forthwith. And this, of course, in a righteous world and in a hard winter, is no more than proper. But it is interesting to remark what a note of realism has crept into a proposal that by no means originated in Cedar Rapids.

FRONT-PAGE NEWS does not always treat of sex or rumors of war. On October 30 appeared in the New York *World* an account of a report made to the Academy of Medicine by Dr. Felix d'Herelle, professor of bacteriology at Yale University. Dr. d'Herelle, with proper scientific caution, announced merely the results so far of a new method in the treatment of disease—the isolation and control of a bacteriophage parasite that eats disease germs. Treatment of 10,000 cases of dysentery by his method in Brazil resulted in only two failures. Asiatic cholera, treated by Dr. d'Herelle's method, showed a mortality of 8.1 per cent, as contrasted with a mortality of 62.9 per cent when treated by other means. If we are on the verge of discovering a germ destroyer that can be controlled and used in the general treatment of disease, there is no estimating the benefit to mankind to be derived therefrom. Less important but no less dramatic is the colorful account, on the front page of the New York *Times,* of the coronation of the Son of Solomon, the Conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah, the Elect of God, and the Light of the World, Haile Selassie I, Emperor of Abyssinia. Live lions, gold and diamond crowns, scarlet, green, yellow, and purple robes, a feast of raw meat and fermented honey were features of the ceremony. The physician to the Emperor hails from Grand Rapids, Michigan, and at the end of the strange, rich pageant the new Emperor fell on his knees and thanked God that Abyssinia had been a Christian country for 1,600 years.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# The Right to Criticize

IN the statement in which Mr. Hoover characterized as "reckless, baseless, and infamous" the charges brought by Ralph S. Kelley in the New York *World* against Secretary Wilbur and others for alleged improper conduct in the administration of certain oil-shale lands, and branded as contrary to "the practice of better American journalism" the conduct of the *World* in giving Mr. Kelley a hearing, he took pains to say that "proper inquiry or proper criticism by newspapers is a safeguard of good government." We have no doubt that Mr. Hoover was a good deal disturbed by the suggestion of a possible oil scandal in his Administration. It may very well have reminded him of his own silent years in the Harding and Coolidge cabinets, when he could not or would not find his tongue to challenge the scandalous doings of Fall, Doheny, and others. The heated denunciation which he visited upon Mr. Kelley and the *World,* however, and the shabby defense which he offered of his beloved Secretary of the Interior raise the question whether Mr. Hoover, in praising what he was pleased to call "proper" inquiry and criticism by the press, really meant to welcome criticism that gets under the skin and gives executive complacence a jolt.

We have no expert knowledge that qualifies us to pass upon the truth or falsity of Mr. Kelley's charges, and we do not understand that the *World* professes to have sifted them to the bottom and determined their complete validity. If Mr. Kelley faked allegations for which there is no foundation in fact and palmed them off on the *World* as veritable history he must carry the odium of his conduct, and the *World* will have to bear as well as it can the chagrin of having been let in for a bad bargain. But if, on the other hand, as we understand was the case, the *World* satisfied itself that the charges were sufficiently well founded to make their publication a public service, we think that Mr. Hoover's protestation of esteem for newspaper inquiry and criticism belongs with the traditional sounding brass and tinkling cymbal.

It is a well-settled principle of American jurisprudence that when a man offers himself as a candidate for public office he is to be regarded as putting his fitness for the place in evidence, and that anything which tends to show that he is not fit may freely be offered, provided only that it is true. The propriety of the criticism is for the party that utters it and the public to whom it is addressed, not for the candidate, to decide. It would be strange indeed if a principle everywhere recognized as applicable to a candidate should cease to operate once the candidate is elected or appointed, or that incumbency of an office should carry with it any immunity whatever from a scrutiny as frank and searching as may freely be exercised while the office is being sought.

When Mr. Hoover, with a gesture of magnanimity, bestows his blessing upon "proper" inquiry and "proper" criticism, he champions a distinction which it is not for him or any other public servant to make. The right of criticism is a large and comprehensive right whose exercise, even when violent and extreme, cannot safely be restricted without grave danger to the state. The very essence of popular government dictates that the persons to whom the people have intrusted the administration of public affairs shall be constantly watched and held to account, and that whatever in their conduct appears to any citizen objectionable shall be freely and unsparingly exposed.

There are two reasons in particular why this aspect of the fundamental right of free speech and a free press, to whatever lengths it may sometimes be carried within the limits of private law, should be sedulously guarded in this country. It is a peculiarity of the American system of government that, unlike most European systems, elective officials cannot be called to account at the polls except at the end of long and fixed periods of service, and that appointive officials cannot as a rule be got rid of save by the clumsy process of impeachment or as a penalty for positive crime or misdemeanor. A Representative in Congress is elected for two years, a Senator for six, a President for four, and no amount of political pressure can vacate their seats until their terms have expired. The only protection, accordingly, against the autocratic behavior which goes so often with power, and the pride of office that bids the public go be damned, is unceasing watchfulness on the part of the electorate, unrestrained expression of criticism or dissent, and insistent reckoning of what is done or planned.

The other reason is the increasing pressure of governmental censorship and invasion of private rights. More and more the government, sometimes directly and sometimes through self-constituted agencies which it fosters, fears, or winks at, tends to interfere with what shall be published or read, what shall be produced on the stage, what shall be taught in the schools, what shall be said in political debate. The bogy of the "radical" or the "unpatriotic" is used to suppress dissent, to curb criticism of functionaries, or to load the statute book with vindictive laws. Searches, seizures, and arrests without warrant or even reasonable suspicion of wrong, confinement without specific charge, partisan trial, and conviction foreordained are increasingly incidents of the day's news. Save where open and avowed dictatorships prevail, there is hardly any country in the world in which the citizen is less free from official meddling in his business, his social activities, and his private life, or in which the opportunities for the free expression of uncanonical opinions are less abundant, than is the case in the United States today.

We think that Mr. Hoover, by his ill-tempered outburst over Mr. Kelley and the *World,* and his implied approval of such inquiry or criticism only as seems to him "proper," has done the country a great disservice. Had he confined himself to a dignified protest against allegations which he sincerely believed to be untrue, and promised a full investigation by Congress if Congress felt that one was called for, he would have shown himself a statesman as well as a man of intelligence and good sense. As it is, he has arrayed himself on the side of those who affect to regard a President as in some way sacrosanct, who do not wish unpleasant truth to be told, and who hold up to public scorn anyone who, in good faith, seeks to turn on the light. The country did not elect Mr. Hoover to be told by him what it should think or how far criticism of him and his associates should go, and there should be only censure for him in his new role.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Relief by Publicity

WHEN President Hoover appointed Colonel Arthur Woods to be federal director of unemployment relief, everyone was glad that something was to be done at last. Mr. Woods took hold vigorously, and a large output of publicity is evidence of his activity. Last week we pointed out some of the larger aspects of Mr. Woods's task. Let us now examine his immediate work. Mr. Woods was appointed on October 21. Three days later a Washington dispatch announced:

> Under the name of the President's Emergency Committee for Employment [unemployment is never mentioned in Washington], the relief organization swung into its stride today. . . . The chief purpose of the organization is to find jobs for idle men, and the secondary one to advise communities in supplying relief for the needy, Colonel Woods reiterated at a press conference.

On the same day Mr. Woods announced that Edward L. Bernays would be the committee's volunteer counsel on public relations.

What has Mr. Woods actually done thus far? He has sent out pleas for cooperation. He has broadcast an appeal to all Americans to join in solving the problem, urging householders and municipalities to do odd jobs now and to "spruce up." He has conferred with various leaders, planning cooperation and coordination in relief work. He has declared that State and local unemployment organizations are in much better shape than in 1921, and that the federal government is making redoubled efforts at employment. He has announced that there are pending in various States and cities bond issues for public works totaling $450,000,000. He has stated that construction programs set in operation by President Hoover's conferences last fall probably kept down unemployment by a million or more (an absurd statement, by the way).

Stirred by the good work of Mr. Woods and Mr. Bernays, the newspapers during the past ten days have given enormous publicity to the unemployment question, which is all to the good. For example, the government will put 20,000 men to work in shipbuilding "within twelve months." Dozens of cities, we learn, are initiating public works of greater or less importance. Kansas City automobile assembling plants will take on 900 men in a week. Cleveland will start a $9,000,000 road-building program, beginning with the award of $450,000 worth of contracts on December 16. A Chicago taxi company will add 1,000 men to its force (*when, not stated*). The War Department has already taken steps to stagger employment on its Mississippi River work. To these and thousands of similar statements of what is about to happen, the press, under the lead of Mr. Woods and his staff, has dutifully given wide publicity. An impression of activity and present or imminent relief for the unemployed is thus created.

Far be it from us to belittle any effort, however trifling, in behalf of the unemployed. Separate what is said from what is done, however, and it becomes clear that what Mr. Woods has accomplished thus far is to call attention to what has been done or what is supposed to be about to be done. His action has precisely the value that inheres in such publicity. This statement involves no reflection on Mr. Woods; for no improvised organization except a charitable one can do anything of immediate importance in a time like this. Mr. Hoover's conferences last fall, with much blare of trumpets, made large promises of what they were going to do in the way of construction. Then their members went home and actually did what was dictated to them by the stern economic necessities of their situation, just as informed men knew they must do. Similarly today. Plants are opening and closing all the time as economic necessity dictates. Public works are being undertaken as appropriations become available. Private and public charity go on their old way, with somewhat increased funds, and the suffering and demoralization of unemployment are somehow endured. None of this does or can Mr. Woods fundamentally change.

The only measures of employment that are really bearing fruit today are those of private and public undertakings that embarked on stabilization policies years ago, or of cities, like Cincinnati, that deliberately went at it last year to reduce to a minimum the disasters that industrial depression would bring on their citizens. A handful of private concerns and cities are on the honor roll of those who have cared enough about it to stabilize employment. The rest of the country is just where it has always been. It is reaping the fruits of indifference and neglect. Most conspicuous in this group is the Administration of President Hoover. Its latest gesture at best can accomplish only trifling results in the course of the next few months. Real stabilization and relief are to be accomplished only by deliberate and scientific planning with a view to permanent results.

# The Menace of Fascism

ITALIAN fascism has become slightly less bellicose of late, but at the same time distinctly more menacing to the peace of Europe. In his address delivered upon the occasion of the eighth anniversary of the march on Rome Mussolini showed unexpected moderation as compared with his bristling, "guns-more-beautiful-than-words" harangues of last spring. He toned down his favorite role of imperial, all-conquering Caesar, and played more the part of superpatriotic defender of a wronged fatherland. "Fascist Italy will never take the initiative of war," he said, but none the less Italy must arm to the teeth, "not in order to attack," but to defend itself against "the anti-fascist coalition." These are the words of superpatriots everywhere; armaments are defensive, never offensive. But if Mussolini has temporarily dropped his threats of war against his enemies, he struck a more menacing note in his reference to a "fascist Europe." The danger is not that Mussolini could by his own efforts revolutionize Europe, but that Europe or a considerable part of it may be catapulted into fascism against its better judgment through the demagoguery and hot-headedness of its extremists playing upon the present discontent of its workers and middle classes.

Many nations of Europe today are undoubtedly confronted with political and economic crises of such overwhelming proportions that they may be considered fair game for political extremists and radicals of every stripe. This is particularly true of the defeated countries, Germany, Aus-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tria, and Hungary, the last of which already has a more or less fascist government. These countries and, indeed, most of Western Europe are perhaps too conservative and nationalistic to succumb to communism. The only other "universal panacea" at hand is fascism, attractive both to ultra-conservatives and to nationalists. And Mussolini is determined that his brand shall be accepted. In his Rome speech he put up his appeal to the malcontents in two bottles. The first he labeled "treaty revision" and the second "the internationalization of fascism."

By his advocacy of treaty revision Mussolini has made a very definite bid for the good-will and friendship of the defeated countries, whose people are unanimously desirous that the inequities of the Versailles and other peace treaties be corrected. Thus the fascist plea has gone to the moderates as well as the reactionary elements of those countries. By his statement that fascism is "an article for exportation," and that "the doctrine and spirit of fascismo are universal," he has deliberately sought to encourage the fascists in other countries in their efforts to overthrow the existing governments. The Hitlers and Goebbels and Starhembergs cannot help reading into that statement the suggestion that they now have the open support of the original fascist, Mussolini, and that Mussolini may have in mind some sort of fascist international to spread his doctrine through Europe much after the manner of the Bolshevik Third International.

Fortunately, however, the moderate elements in Europe are alive to this new attack upon their present governments. The moderate press, particularly in Germany, has warned against uncritical acceptance of Mussolini's pleas. His Rome speech has been interpreted as being merely another attempt to increase fascist influence and power in Central Europe in order to use these countries as tools with which Italian imperialism may press France. This unquestionably is true. Treaty revision would reopen the whole question of the realignment of frontiers, in which Italy has a considerable interest. Italy, as Mussolini has so often put it, must expand, and she is openly seeking expansion toward the east—along the Dalmatian coast and deeper into the Balkans. This is the cardinal point of Italian foreign policy, and it is obvious that Mussolini stands ready to use any tool that lies conveniently to hand in his attempts to reach this goal. Nevertheless, in doing so he has at last grasped a tool that may work serious damage in Europe. That Italy may have a sinister motive in advocating treaty revision does not appear so real and so near to the people of Germany, Austria, and other countries as does the fact that Italy actually is urging that the treaties be revised, a course which they so greatly desire. May they not turn from their own governments, which have not made much progress in the matter of treaty revision, and toward fascism, which at least holds out a militant promise of action. Adoption of such a course by the people of Central Europe may prove too high a price to pay for this militant, yet unquestionably selfish, promise of assistance. Certainly the latest political developments in the defeated countries should serve to warn France and her fellow-defenders of the status quo against what may come. Perhaps, after serious reconsideration of the problem before them, France especially, but England also, may decide that it would be more to their advantage to have the peace treaties rewritten with their help and guidance than under the dangerous pressure of a fascist Central Europe.

# Away with Realism!

THE current production of "Twelfth Night," with Miss Jane Cowl and Leon Quartermaine in the two main roles, sends its audiences away charmed and smiling. Its scenery consists of a huge book, propped against a conventional and unobtrusive drop; as a change of scene requires it, the clown turns the painted leaves to indicate another place. The effect is completely unrealistic, in keeping with the plot and tone of the play, and the resulting delicate fancy is what makes the performance so successful. Many students of Shakespeare, reading "Twelfth Night" through, have found it merely silly. Miss Cowl's production frankly admits its silliness, its untruth, its preposterousness, and turns them to advantage.

This capitulation to unreality, to artificiality, is perhaps the most significant trend in modern literature. The days of novels about drab Brooklyn basements, where dull persons live solemnly through their dull lives, are passing. We have instead in some instances a frank return to romantic fiction, of which Claire Spencer's "Gallows Orchard" is an excellent example, and in others the explorations into those fringes of the rational mind, not quite insanity, not quite disease, which appear too often to need example. We have "Ulysses," which though it purports to be the faithful account of almost every minute of a given twenty-four hours, is actually as far from a realistic portrayal of time and space and human behavior as could be imagined.

It was inevitable that the pendulum should swing back again, although no one expects or can demand that it swing quite the same distance. We can hope never to fall into quite the morass of romantic slush from which, with "truth" clutched firmly in our hands, we emerged thirty years ago. But in the meantime we have sunk fairly far into almost as desperate a slough of "life as it is." Starting triumphantly with a work of art like "Sister Carrie," we have plunged down to tedious scenes about unimportant persons with no claim to our atention. In an effort to be realistic we have lost realism, and we turn again to romance to make the balance.

What it all probably means is that in fiction, in play writing, in poetry, even in architecture, there is no realism, there is only art or the absence of art. We are no more portraying life by scenes of dull and hopeless poverty than by scenes laid in a puppet kingdom where lovely princesses are rescued from boredom by handsome young Americans. Art is not good when it is "like life" but when it is like itself, when it creates, out of nothing, a set of creatures that were never seen on land or sea, but that cunningly wear semblances of human shape, speak as we would like to hear humans speak, act as human beings might act in a better world than this. Albert Einstein, answering the compliments of Shaw at the dinner in London which they both recently attended, put the matter succinctly when he said:

> From your box of tricks you have taken countless puppets which, while resembling men, are not of flesh and bone but consist entirely of spirit, wit, and grace. And yet, in a way even more than ourselves, they resemble men and women and make us forget that they are not the creations of nature but only the creations of Bernard Shaw. . . . What you have done can be done only by the born artist.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# *Chains Versus Independents*
# I. The Price War

By EDWARD G. ERNST and EMIL M. HARTL

GENERALLY condemned by word of mouth, the chain stores are supremely honored by patronage. In the face of business depression, fifty of the largest chain retail organizations reported a 4 per cent increase in sales for the first six months of 1930 over the corresponding months of 1929. In theory, however, the average consumer is very much against the "chains." He is afraid of their rapid growth and trend toward monopoly. He believes that the "little fellow" is being mercilessly driven out and that individual initiative is being thwarted. He witnesses the chain-store manager and his helpers working all hours of the night for a small reward. When he walks into a chain store he hopes that he is not seen by any of his friends or any of the local merchants. Yet he does buy in the foreign-owned stores, and the reason he most commonly gives is: "Money is hard to get and I must make it go as far as I possibly can." Behind his action lies the belief that the chain stores sell for much less.

*The present is the first of a series of four articles on chain stores, embodying the results of a first-hand survey made by the authors during the past summer. Their study covered the chain-store situation in ten representative towns and cities of the United States, ranging in population from 5,000 to 92,000 people. The communities investigated were Newport, New Hampshire; Bellows Falls, Vermont; Framingham, Massachusetts; Danville, Virginia; Anderson, South Carolina; Tallahassee, Florida; Gulfport, Mississippi; Shreveport, Louisiana; Greencastle, Indiana; and Little Falls, Minnesota. The detailed study covered twenty-four chain grocery stores and twenty-one independent groceries, in addition to forty-one chain stores and nineteen independents in other lines than groceries. The authors also collected much information from manufacturers concerning their relations with chain stores, and studied carefully the existing state of public opinion on the subject. Their second article, The Chains in the Community, will appear in next week's issue.*—EDITOR THE NATION.

In all lines but groceries this is commonly accepted as a fact; but in the grocery line it has sometimes been contested. It has been maintained by some that the price advantage of the chain grocery is purely illusory, a mere deception brought about by clever advertising; and Professor Alexander's survey of prices in metropolitan New York even shows a slight price advantage in favor of the independent retailers.

### How Cheap Are the Chains?

Our own price comparisons reveal two things clearly: first, in the ten communities that we studied there is a fair saving on most nationally advertised goods bought at chain stores; second, those who are concerned primarily about price, holding quality only secondary, can get "price goods" at the chain stores. We find that these stores *do* undersell their independent competitors, even in the grocery field. A comparison of prices on 124 standard items shows the independents to be 7.3 per cent higher in the ten cities studied. In canned goods more than 400 different brands were recorded, and the chain stores showed an advantage of 11 per cent. This latter average figure, however, includes brands carried by independents only and special chain-store brands, whose quality cannot be compared. On a few articles not much in demand we find the independents often as much as 20 per cent higher than the chains. This excess is doubtless due directly to the fact that a single store cannot afford to buy slow-moving goods in large quantities, as such action would demand an excess of storage and involve the danger of being caught in the event of a sudden price drop. Of the twenty-one independent stores included in the survey ten were organized on a cash basis, but their showing is not greatly better than that of the credit stores, except in Gulfport, Mississippi, where the cash stores are only 2.7 per cent higher than their chain competitors. The cash merchants of Shreveport, Louisiana, on the other hand, are undersold by more than 15 per cent. Taking all the credit stores together, their prices are 9 per cent higher than those of the chain stores of their respective localities, while all the independents together are 7.3 per cent higher than the chains. The price differences between cash and credit independents are surprisingly small.

Five of the independents investigated belong to some kind of buying organization. Much to our surprise there is no noticeable difference in their prices as compared with the strictly independent stores. On some items they are higher and on others they are a few cents lower, but the grand average is practically the same. However, they receive some advantages through their "specials." But as these do not represent their regular prices, all "specials" were left out of the comparisons.

Most chains and more and more independents are making it a practice to advertise at least five specials each week. These are usually attractive bargains and are used as leads or "bait." Any customer wishing to buy nothing but specials might easily make another 10 per cent saving; but no chain store or independent could long exist if such a policy were adopted generally. Most managers are required to sell at least 90 per cent of all goods at regular prices.

### Are the Chains Dishonest?

It is not enough to know that the chain stores actually undersell the locally owned stores. The question is: How is it possible for the chains to undersell? Is it true that they

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

are nothing but a "bunch of daylight robbers" who cheat us on weight in order to give us goods at a reduced price? Criticism of this type is heard mostly in connection with the grocery stores. Both over the radio and in the press much has been said about their unfair methods. Many chain-store managers have been convicted of unfair practices, but as yet no chain organization as such has been legally condemned.

There is a reason why the chains have maintained a clear name: they constantly urge their managers by letter to be perfectly honest. Therefore when anyone is caught in an unlawful act, the manager is held responsible and loses his position. We succeeded last summer in getting a few of the managers to talk, after they were sure their names would not be made known. Several asserted dogmatically that "no man can work for a chain grocery store and be honest."

What is the basis for such an assertion? The explanation of the belief lies in the policy of many grocery chains. Every item is billed to the individual store at selling price only, and no manager knows anything about the cost price. When the superintendent makes his rounds he allows credit for spoilage of fresh fruits and vegetables, but none for shrinkage of staples sold in bulk and measured out by the managers or their help. Each manager receives a certain amount of goods each week. He must sell that amount, and when inventory is taken at the end of five weeks, his cash balance must account for every pound taken in. The absurdity of such a demand can readily be seen by a few illustrations. Butter comes in tubs containing 64 pounds bulk; it is impossible for any man to weigh out more than 62 pounds. A 100-pound sack of sugar when weighed out into small lots loses at least 2 pounds. Beans will shrink an ounce per pound in a week's time; potatoes weighing 120 pounds per sack will not measure out over 118 pounds at the maximum. At the end of five weeks these little losses count up, and the manager is twenty or thirty dollars behind.

There are several ways in which the manager makes up these losses. Perhaps the one most often used is worked against the company itself. When an article is put on special sale for two days, it is often possible for the manager to mark down 5,000 pounds as sold at that price when he actually sold but 4,000, selling the other 1,000 pounds the following day at the regular price. The consumer also is mulcted. First, on items not marked in the open the manager frequently raises the price a cent or two, and no one is the wiser. A second method, almost as popular, is the weighing of thumbs and fingers with, say, a pound of nuts; in this way an ounce or two can easily be gained. There are also managers who are not beyond the manipulation of adding-machine figures. In the final analysis this type of thing accounts for a very small percentage of the chain-store advantages. It would be foolish to assert that all chain stores, even in the grocery line, indulge in such practices. As a matter of fact, there is no occasion for it in other fields, and as soon as the grocery-store managers are allowed a slight percentage for shrinkage, the unfair methods now employed will cease.

### Cash Buying and Its Results

The true secret of the chain-store prices lies in a cause much more fundamental. The chain-store movement had its beginning in the change from credit to cash buying. Formerly, retail business was done largely on credit, but its expenses, including uncollectible bills, interest on wholesalers' bills, and other unavoidable credit costs, were high, and prices had to be high too. The cash merchant, avoiding such costs, began to boom. His business increased, and he started a second store, and then a third; finally he spread to his neighboring town, and continued to grow. Now we see him in all lines of merchandise, with hundreds of stores, all under one large organization.

Cash buying on the part of customers was only the beginning. It became the policy of the merchant also and thus another 2 per cent saving was made. In dry goods and other lines the percentage is much larger. But a 2 per cent saving in groceries is not a small sum when one realizes that the capital invested is turned over at least twelve times in a year. A single independent in Shreveport, Louisiana, makes an annual saving of $15,000 in just this way. If every independent grocery store paid its owner simply 2 per cent on the capital invested after all running expenses, including a fair managerial salary for himself, were met, the owner would be happy. The average net profit for chain groceries is about 2½ per cent.

The next great reduction of overhead expense comes with direct buying and buying in large quantities. Why pay the wholesaler 15 per cent to do the same work the retailer can do himself for 5 or 6 per cent? The retailer can get from the manufacturer the same 10 per cent reduction that the jobber receives, and the old-time jobber is being squeezed out. Some wholesalers, moreover, have organized groups of independents who in return for undivided patronage are given reduced rates and lessons in merchandising.

The discounts thus far discussed are free to all merchants, chains or independents, who have the necessary financial strength. The independents have one advantage in being free of the chain organization of presidents, vice-presidents, buyers, and superintendents. This superorganization costs chain groceries from 2½ to 3 per cent and dry-goods chains about 5 per cent. Where lies the advantage of the chains?

### The Chains and the Manufacturer

Many manufacturers say that the discounts mentioned above represent the total power of the chain stores except as they are able to use their large buying as a "whip." No manufacturer will depart from his regular way of doing business for a carload order; but when business is on the wane, and he has an opportunity to get an order for 100 carloads, he will make and does make substantial concessions. It is this so-called "whip," used extensively by the chain stores, which is making them a real menace to our economic structure.

The different manufacturers and packers pursue at least seven different policies toward the chains. First, there are those who produce goods of superior quality and thus keep their products out of chain-store competition. This group simply ignores the chains. Closely allied with them are those who refuse to deal with the chains, fearing possible dictation of prices once they have opened an account. Another group of manufacturers sells to the chain organizations exclusively. Often a single organization will contract to take the total output of a factory for a year. This policy has frequently led to disastrous results. The first year a reasonable profit can usually be made, but the next year the chain demands a cut in price. By this time the manufacturer is helpless. His goods have already been taken off the general market, and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

unless he accepts the contract from the chain stores his business will be gone. From then on he becomes a chain-store servant. There are a few manufacturers in business who refuse the chains any special concessions whatever. There is a big demand for their product, created through national advertising, and the chains in this case have little choice. They must carry certain popular brands regardless of price.

It is more usual, however, for such companies to reward the "big buyer" by giving him a certain amount of free goods. In order to get around the indictment of selling at varying rates, they charge up this gift to advertising and no one is the wiser. Some manufacturers give what they call "confidential discounts," which are simply secret price reductions to quantity buyers. One of the largest textile factories in the South held to a uniform price for all buyers until last spring. At that time an order of 2,000 cases of sheets went to another factory because this concern refused the demand for another 7½ per cent discount. Soon afterward it made the necessary concessions and more orders came in. Perhaps it is not a mere coincidence that wages at the mill were cut 10 per cent at about the same time. The labor expense in a textile mill is almost as great as the cost of the cotton. It is quite natural, then, that the wage-earner should be second only to the farmer in feeling the reduction of overhead expenses. The farmer takes a cut in prices on his cotton because the chain stores have pinched the manufacturer, and then thanks "the powers that be" for the pair of overalls he bought in a yellow-front store for one dollar.

Even those manufacturers who still control the price of their goods to the consumer are not ignored by the chain-store buyers. One mattress company in New Hampshire accepted large contracts from two chain-store organizations at a much reduced rate. In order that the chain stores might sell for less than the regular retail price set by the manufacturer, the latter put the chain-store label on the article instead of his own trade-mark. This policy is carried on fairly widely in all lines of goods. From 50 to 75 per cent of the sales of some of the most popular grocery chains consists of their own brands. This situation works to the advantage of the chain in two ways: first, it eliminates the expense of national advertising of single articles; and, secondly, it takes the articles out of the price-competition class, as no other chain or independent can use the label. The consumer becomes accustomed, moreover, to the chain-store brand and its reputation is built up rather than that of a brand that can be purchased at any store. The chain organizations have pressed the manufacturers so hard that many of them have given up and simply work for the chain stores.

The story is not yet ended. The chain stores, not satisfied to beat down the profits of the manufacturer, the salaries of the workers, and the incomes of the producers, have in many cases gone to the basis of things by becoming their own manufacturers and packers. One grocery chain now has three immense subsidiary companies engaged in preparing its products. The chain-store Utopia has been all but achieved. When the farmer receives his weekly wage from the New York office the march will have been completed. At last the producer and the consumer have been brought together with but one intervening body. One profit is being realized where three were made before. The question now facing the public is: Who can control the price paid the producer and the amount charged the consumer?

# British Labor Falters

By DEVERE ALLEN

WHILE a general election in Great Britain is not expected until late winter or early spring, the possibility of that election hovers over the proceedings of the British Labor Party and protects the present Government from rebel onslaughts. But the party conference, held within recent weeks at Llandudno, North Wales, revealed that throughout the rank and file a deep discontent exists and will not be ignored.

Last year J. H. Thomas was elected by a large vote to his party's national executive. This year Mr. Thomas, regarded benevolently by business interests and embraced almost daily in one Tory paper or another, went down to inglorious defeat. At Llandudno the delegates evinced no discernible enthusiasm over the defensive utterances of Home Secretary Clynes, yet Clynes polled 2,042,000 votes as against 836,000 for Thomas. Thomas drew 2,297,000 votes a year ago at Brighton.

Sir Oswald Mosley roused the weary assemblage to prolonged, tumultuous cheers when he sharply criticized the Cabinet from which he was recently forced to resign, assailing not only the incompetence of Mr. Thomas but the opinions of Mr. Snowden, and with the air of a man who fulfilled in himself his appeal for a policy and a program to deal with unemployment outlined concisely the essentials of the famous "Mosley memorandum." This is the plan over which he split with the Prime Minister. Moreover, Mosley, who failed of election to the national executive last year, was this year elected by a heavy vote. Previously his motion for a bona fide reconsideration of his unemployment memorandum failed of passage by the narrowest margin, the large vote causing obvious chagrin to the representatives of the Government seated on the platform, whose determined urbanity for once was shaken. Only the day before Premier MacDonald had spoken sternly against those within the ranks of leadership "who refused to accept the ordinary decencies of discipline."

In substance the Mosley scheme varies little from the program of the Independent Labor Party: import boards to stabilize food prices through bulk purchases; the prohibition of goods made under unfair working conditions; national projects of house-building and public works; and, emphatically, higher wages to increase the consumption power of the masses. Where the Mosley remedy does vary, however, and varies greatly is in its plea for "insulation" from "the shock of world conditions," and for the viewing of tariffs "without prejudice." Both Mosley and the Independent Labor Party condemn bitterly the Government's policy of arranging loans in unrevealed amounts by the Bank of England for the use

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of employers to modernize their plants, without the least guaranty regarding the working conditions under which the new output will be produced. In his tolerance of imperial economics Mosley gives great comfort to the empire-free-trade protectionists. On this point, not only the "diehard free-trade Chancellor," Mr. Snowden, whose views on free trade are far too simplified to suit many of the stalwart free-traders of the younger generation, but the anti-imperialist radicals also are concerned over the growing prestige of Mosley. Already, in quiet street-corner gossip, he is being mentioned as a coming Labor premier.

Mr. Maxton's plea for a direct censure of the Government, though couched in such friendly personal terms as to belie the reputation for acerbity he bears in the United States, was rejected by a vote of 1,803,000 to 334,000. Does this mean that the I. L. P. is losing its grip, that the rank and file are coming to feel, as the organ of the Social Democratic Federation querulously puts it, that the Labor movement no longer needs "a numerically small section claiming the right to criticize, oppose, or obstruct the findings of the party reached through the usual channels of discussion and the democratic vote"? It means nothing of the kind. The Independent Labor Party is still strong and highly regarded among most of the divisional Labor parties, but of course these do not command a tremendous vote, under the party's constitution, in comparison with the huge trade unions. Even among the more conservative element in the Trades Union Congress, many appreciate the I. L. P.'s intellectual leadership. It does mean, clearly, that nothing remotely to be construed by political opponents as a straight-out censure of the Government will be tolerated at the present juncture. Mr. Thomas can safely be made the scapegoat.

Toward its friendly critics the Government takes an incredibly vague and evasive attitude, coupled with a stout assertion of success. Great plans are under way, the details of which cannot yet be revealed. The exception to this rule, at least most conspicuously, is a detailed plan for agriculture which does credit to the Cabinet. Widows' pensions and the Coal Mines Act, both admittedly inadequate but the best that could be won, are offered among the proofs of progress. No one questions them. But no Republican spellbinder in my recollection ever gave so hazy an account of methods to be used in meeting a concrete problem as Mr. MacDonald offered regarding unemployment. Yet he steadfastly declared he "had no apologies to make." Although unemployment has practically doubled since the present Labor Government came into office, it was pointed out by Miss Susan Lawrence and the Premier alike that the kind of unemployment which has been scourging the world for the past twelve months was a new kind of unemployment, not susceptible to the same treatment as the former kind. Plaintively the Cabinet spokesmen reminded the younger element in the party that with the Government as a minority, or for that matter even as a majority, "socialism cannot be achieved in a day."

In general terms, the critics reflect the views one hears everywhere on the street from voters of all parties, namely, a conviction that the Cabinet is without a clear-cut policy, and is in regard to the most vital matter now bedeviling the British people merely drifting. Specifically, Sir Oswald Mosley charges the Government not only with failure to move in the direction of socialism, but with moving in a direction counter to it; he accuses the leaders in forthright language of turning over the reorganization of industry, affecting as it does the lives of countless workers, to the Bank of England. Specifically, also, the I. L. P. contends that the procedure of the Government thus far has been to restore the capitalist system at the points where it has broken down, rather than to go on to replace it, piece by piece, with socialism.

In respect to India and disarmament, Labor Party opinion as a whole seems steadily more conservative. Fenner Brockway, in a powerful speech combining vigor and moderation, saying, as the *Daily Express* ironically put it, "precisely the same things which every Socialist shouted two years ago," moved an I. L. P. resolution calling for the release of political prisoners and the opening of negotiations for dominion status with the Indian Congress representatives now in jail. He asked the Labor Government frankly whether it found comfort in being responsible for the imprisonment of more than twenty-five thousand Indians, less than a thousand of whom had even been charged with any degree of violence. As one after another the Government's defenders rose to reply, they showed to an American ear, with all personal bias eliminated so far as humanly possible, no deviation worth noting from the imperialist arguments of the Tory press. The All-India Conference is still in the offing, and the delegates at Llandudno would not, as they thought, prejudge the Government's position.

Likewise with arms reduction. The resolution of the I. L. P. asking for the initiation of disarmament measures irrespective of other nations' slowness drew from Arthur Henderson a counter-query: Would the Labor Party refuse credits for military supplies? Could anything be reasonably done to curtail armaments except along with the rest of the world? Could the country be left without means of defense under present conditions? The Government view prevailed.

There is something sad about the division that plainly exists between youth and age within the British Labor Party. Rarely were the critics of the Government at this conference over middle age; rarely were its defenders under sixty. The Elder Statesmen are justly beloved of all, even their Labor opponents, because of the sacrificial years they have given to the movement. The party is perturbed and uneasy about them, but it is not yet sure that a more consistent Socialist policy might not mean failure at a forthcoming election, to be followed, it may be, by long years of reconstruction. Sir Oswald Mosley cries that the party "should not die like an old woman in bed, but like a young man in the field." This appeals naturally far more to Mosley than to the Cabinet, for many of the latter would prefer to accomplish a little in the tangible present rather than risk the complexities of the uncharted future.

The party is torn by doubt, but for some time yet the benefit of the doubt will be given to the present leaders. The policy of caution and compromise, as the Elder Statesmen believe, may open up the doors to a speedier advance toward Socialist order. If it fails to do so, as the younger spirits think it will, then more than one long-famous Solon will follow Mr. J. H. Thomas out of party esteem, and Labor, with more abundant experience than it now has to guide it, will intrust its destinies to younger minds. One way or the other, out of the present faltering, a policy will soon emerge. For the time being, if policy there be, that policy is chiefly trial and error where it is not downright drift.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# *On the College Frontier*

# VII. Civilizing Teacher Training*

By T. L. SCHOLTZ

IF the ordinary citizen confronted with a million-dollar school building staffed with several thousand dollars' worth of teachers ever wonders vaguely what it is all for, he doubtless consoles himself with the reflection that within these chastely severe examples of factory architecture there goes on a process which is reputed to prepare children for the adult world in which they must presently take their places. If he does not know exactly what this adult world is like (having experienced it at haphazard and in fragments himself) and if he is even less certain by what legerdemain children are prepared for it, he may fall back on the comforting notion that someone among the thousand dollars' worth of staff in the million-dollar building is fitted to answer both these questions and to practice on children accordingly. Assurance on this latter point is likely to be made doubly sure by the discovery that the practice was some years since raised to the status of a science with all the special privileges regularly accorded in such promotions.

With this assurance the average citizen and the average educator are likely to be content, and when, here and there, an educator is discovered to be publicly doubting the oracle, the effect is mildly shocking. Shocks of such a sort have not been wholly unknown of late, but there is about the state of affairs just described a delicate irony springing from the fact that the man generally recognized as America's foremost philosopher and critic of educational theory is at least half on the side of the unbelievers. There is hardly a present-day commentator on education who has not acknowledged a debt to John Dewey, but only a number between a few and a very few of them exhibit any adequate recognition of the implications of Dewey's linking of education with a philosophy and a social program. It is the position of Professor B. H. Bode and his associates among these few that gives to the College of Education at Ohio State University a claim to comment here.

It is not difficult to gain the admission that education is related to a social program, but as Professor Bode has elsewhere observed, it is next to impossible to make the admission mean anything. Obviously, an educational theory of any genuine value must take shape in a certain type of school organization and procedure, and if this proves to be at odds with currently esteemed practices, the conflict is not to be regarded as simply a difference of opinion or as an example of the inevitable gap between theory and practice. Either the social program and the educational procedure must be logically consistent, or one or both must be revised. Such a program, it need hardly be said, is not a matter of the whim of the individual philosopher either. Whether it is closely related to the findings of modern biology and psychology, as Dewey insists, or is the product of some other sort of revelation, as the new humanists would have it, it is equally rooted in a fundamental concept of the nature of the world and of man and of the relation of each to the other. It is a commonplace that the clear and self-conscious possession of a fundamental Weltanschauung is distressingly infrequent these days. Conceivably it has never been common in any age, although moderns tend to think that at least the Greeks and the medieval Christians had one (not, of course, the same one), and the work of such present-day critics as Mr. Lippmann and Mr. Krutch suggests the possibility that a modern integration may be in process. However this may be, the starting-point of an educational system is clearly to be found in the attempt to develop such a view in those who purpose to administer or teach in schools, and such an attempt is characteristic of the professional training in education offered at Ohio State.

To this end the student (who is admitted to the regular courses of the College of Education not earlier than his third year) is brought-first-into-contact with the problem of the purposes of education in general and of education in a democracy in particular. That it should be possible to regard such an introduction as in any sense unique or noteworthy is in itself a fearful commentary on the state of teacher training in the United States. Yet such has been our concern with technical procedures and devices that a proposal to insist on the student's gaining some notion of where he is going as a means of understanding and evaluating the steps taken for getting there required for several years the most unremitting vigilance in its defense.

It cannot be said, of course, that any such Pandora's box as is presented by the topic of education in a democracy gets adequately dealt with in a single course, or in the several supplementary ones which are also required. Teacher training suffers here from the same defect which marks the preparation of lawyers, doctors, journalists, engineers, and certified public accountants in our universities, the defect, namely, of a specialization which is not only early and complete, which would be a minor matter, but which is narrowly limited and technical, a very serious matter. The responsibility for the "liberal" aspects of the student's training is customarily put on the arts colleges, thereby giving the professional schools what is known in the vernacular as an "out." In the case of teacher-training institutions particularly, the student is required almost everywhere to complete a major and a minor in the subjects he (more usually she) proposes to teach, and this is held to exercise a sufficiently liberalizing influence for all ordinary purposes.

Against this unduly easy solution the faculties of arts and sciences everywhere have steadily protested, saying that they have trouble enough producing any discernible educative effect on their regular four-year students without being called upon to do it in less time on professional students; and the honest educator, caught in a modest moment, will generally admit at least the partial justice of the complaint.

* The seventh of a series of articles on educational experiments. The eighth, the Sarah Lawrence Plan, by Constance Warren, will appear in the issue of November 19.—EDITOR THE NATION.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

But the problem manifestly goes deeper. At bottom it is nothing less than the task of making civilized persons out of our teachers, and this task the arts colleges as a whole (Ohio State cannot be said to suffer by comparison with most others) show no signs of being able to accomplish, even if they had twice the present amount of the student's time at their disposal. The fact is that the assumed distinction between knowing a subject and knowing how to teach it is the fundamental fallacy under most teacher training.

The "subjects" which go to make up modern schooling have established about as thoroughly as can be their claims to usefulness and reliability, but in the process their application, their function as the instruments of modern civilized living, has been sharply subordinated to their internal organization. That this was inescapable if we were to have science at all may be admitted, but the effect has been to make of the curriculum a more or less orderly heap of separate items of information—facts, as they are commonly called. These are more or less visibly consistent within particular fields, but rarely reveal to the ordinary learner any relations between fields or any connections outside the school.

The effect of this state of affairs on teacher training should be obvious. The candidate for a teaching position is supplied, by means of courses in the subject matter, with a suitable store of information. He is then turned over to the college of education to be instructed in the psychological theory appropriate to such subject matter, a theory, that is, which assumes that learning consists essentially of practice or drill. He is further supplied with classroom procedures and devices designed to bring this practice to its highest efficiency. Additional information concerning the general history of school systems, their financing and administration, and similar matters bearing on the duties of teachers in them round out the candidate's professional training. All this, it must be plain, is not so much untrue as irrelevant, and the first step in a return to relevancy would seem to be an insistence on the functional or instrumental character of knowledge. Facts are valuable as they provide understanding and thereby, in the long run, control of one's world. Unfortunately, the current version of understanding and control is that they are synonymous with industrial efficiency. The perniciousness of such an error it is hardly possible to exaggerate.

Hence the necessity for an introduction to the purposes of education—in order that the prospective teacher may realize that to know anything is to have an appropriate expectation of its employment and results and such an organization of habits in connection with it that the otherwise blind and disparate routines of existence take on relationship and meaning, become events, not isolated phenomena meaningless beyond their immediate temporal and spatial boundaries. A subject known in this way is ready for teaching, and opportunity for experience with guidance is almost all that is necessary to build a schoolroom procedure out of it. If it is not so known (and of course it seldom is), hardly any amount of professional training in methods and psychology will assist matters very much. Now, such knowledge is characteristic of civilized people in any relationship, and if teachers can gain it, under whatever auspices, one fundamental part of our educational task is done.

Naturally, they do not gain it completely from such contact with educational philosophy as they make at Ohio State, but the foundations of civilized training are there. The required practice teaching which can make this educational principle concrete is under the supervision of men who have been selected primarily for their knowledge of the subjects they supervise, a knowledge, it need hardly be added, of the sort just indicated. Every contact with the field of educational theory is designed to bring the student back to this fundamental point of view. For advanced students a somewhat more complete development of the principle is of course possible, but the essential educational program is the same. At the risk of trespassing on the student's patience by reiteration, he is made to see that no amount of technical knowledge can take the place of a realizing sense of what it means to be an educated person. Manifestly, measurement of the results of such a program is difficult. In the last analysis, only the thinking and behavior at maturity of children taught by teachers thus trained could give complete proof. Lacking this, as for obvious reasons we must, we can only call upon the experience of teachers who have tried to carry out the principle and of supervisors who have watched and assisted in it. This experience, for what it is worth, supports the program.

To assume that we have in this a complete solution of all educational problems would be ridiculous. The plan, even under favorable circumstances, is not perfect. The emphasis on democracy may be questioned in all sincerity by many who feel that the ultimately satisfactory type of social organization will not be democratic as that word is currently understood. The emphasis on the instrumental value of knowledge is easily susceptible of an interpretation which leaves little place for the aesthetic and emotional aspects of living. These two criticisms are not unconnected, for while it is rapidly becoming apparent that the implications of the instrumentalist philosophy are all in the direction of an increasingly corporate or collectivist society, it is not at all clear that the values popularly ascribed to more individualistic social orders can be saved, and there is at least ground for controversy on the question whether this disappearance of individualism will not also involve the disappearance of much in the way of aesthetic creation and appreciation. Into this controversy it is impossible to enter here. It can only be said that in the program here so sketchily presented this remains one of the less clearly conceived features.

It is hardly possible or appropriate under the circumstances to identify individually the members of the staff in whose hands the realization of this program at Ohio State rests, but no discussion would be complete without reference to Dr. George F. Arps, dean of the College of Education, whose social and philosophic interests, backed by European university training, have given as nearly as possible ideal administrative conditions for the development of Professor Bode's program. It cannot be said, of course, that the graduates of that program are thereby made perfect teachers forever after. Of those who remain teachers many, doubtless, revert presently to more formal and conventional ways of carrying on the business; educational reformers have to be a hopeful lot. "The ultimate question," Mr. Walter Lippmann has written, "is not how the populace is to be ruled, but what the teachers are to think. That is the question that has to be settled first: it is the preface to everything else." This, it might be fair to say, is the ground of the reformers' hopes.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Backwoods Behavior

By CHARLES MORROW WILSON

THE morality of the American backwoods is an old one, a system of ethical reckoning which has survived with scant change through at least a dozen decades. Highways and tourist posts and rustic resorts come and go and come again, bringing with them the aromas and grosser mechanics of dollar-stacking modernity. But their area of penetration is clearly limited, for, physically speaking, the major portion of backwoods America is poor in cashable resources and relatively remote from active markets. Many of the roads are poor, the soil is not particularly fertile, timber resources are quickly exhausted, with the result that there is little basis for long-sustained exploitation.

Want of ready communication and lack of conventional prosperity cut off many outside moral urges. If the upbrush commoner knows nothing about the need of relief for the missionary-stricken Chinese, the bad crops in Czecho-Slovakia, or the encroachment of English Shell, such phenomena can play no part in shaping his behavior or propelling his views. Moreover, statute law rarely suffers systematic enforcement in the back country, for the American backwoodsman is inherently an individualist to whom law is an institution far away and irrelevant. Law as a means of protection plays little part in the reckoning of an upbrush commoner accustomed to the rigors of self-protection and self-support. Both because of environment and of heredity he is prone to be dubious and wary of imported dictates, just as he is slow to nibble at and slower to swallow the gaudy bait of back-slapping brotherhoods, plank-banging piety, and business stratagem.

Backwoods morality places a relatively low value upon human life. Perhaps this is the result of prolonged association with the expedient practices of Dame Nature. At any rate, homicides continue to be common in most portions of our sequestered hinterlands. The homicide rate for the United States is about one to 16,000 of population; of Great Britain one to 110,000; of Germany one to 200,000. But five hill counties in North Carolina and five in Arkansas record annually one homicide to every 1,200 residents. These ten counties are fairly representative of backwoods America. Their population is long-settled Anglo-Saxon American. They have no standing blood feuds, no blackmailing, no paid gunmen or racketeers.

For the most part these back-country killings are good wholesome murders committed by and upon good wholesome people. Land and crop divisions, tenantry, square dances, horseshoe games, rivalry in love, horse trades, unfortunate references to parenthood, and corn liquor serve most frequently as motivation. Backwoods violence is essentially one of primitive fury, a violence of hot words. But the fact that a majority of backwoods murders are picturesquely spontaneous does not necessarily indicate that they are wanting in effective motivation. Many an upbrush killing is but a quick flame sprung up from among the embers of old hates.

A handy illustration is to be found in an event which took place recently at Kingston, a hamlet in the hills of Madison County, Arkansas. More than thirty years ago two rural swains had the misfortune to set their hearts on the same damsel. There was a fight, in the course of which one of the rivals received injuries which left him a lifelong paralytic. Neither suitor married the female under contention and both lived on in the countryside as tolerable neighbors. Then one day the crippled man, who had endured his infirmities in silence for more than thirty years, suddenly decided that the hour was come for a straightening. He loaded his shotgun and floundered up to his regular loafing place, the village store. When his rival of the late nineties came by he emptied both barrels into his victim. The belated aggressor was never convicted.

But it is ironically true that the most violent of primitive furies, when apprehended before they have progressed to the murder stage, may often be appeased with the most trivial of pacifiers. The two Mullins boys, who ran a drug-store at Fly Gap, acquired the services of a hill girl as housekeeper. Before the first year was finished, the housekeeping maiden returned to her home pregnant and unwed. The wronged father loaded the family firearm and set forth for revenge. But word of his coming preceded him to Fly Gap. A countryside loafer happened to espy the killer-to-be and warned the Mullins boys, who struck out for shelter.

The wronged father charged into the drug-store and called for the proprietors to come forth and take their medicine. Nobody came forth. The old gentleman tested the trigger action of his blunderbuss and was about to continue his search when the foreteller of disaster sought to mediate.

"Listen, Mart, them boys didn't reely mean no harm and it might be they could fix up a settlement."

"You mean to say maybe they'd pay somethin'?"

"Yes, I expect so. . . . Course I don't jest know how much."

"If they don't pay me twenty-five dollars I'll shoot hell out'n the two of 'em."

"Well, you jest wait here whilst I chase over and find out."

The mediator located the Mullins boys behind a high protecting wall of baled hay and put the proposition before them. Lige accepted the proposition readily, but Sody thumbed his vest and tarried.

"Twenty-five dollars is a mighty lot of money." Then he looked away toward a far green pasture where grazed an ancient and decrepit skewbald pony.

"Tell you what we'll do—we'll give him that pony in place of the twenty-five dollars."

The pacificatory messenger returned and put the bargain. The injured father accepted, and shouldering his blunderbuss led the pony home. Within a week he sold the animal back to the Mullins boys for fifteen dollars.

In matters of property the backwoods American is usually meticulously honest. He places the right of property higher than that of life. It is entirely probable that an upbrush commoner who would disdain to take a pin from your dresser or a hickory nut from your wood-lot, even though you were a Republican and a total abstainer, would not hesi-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tate to avenge by violent means any reflection upon the sufficiency of his vitals or any intimation of canine ancestry. In the sequestered Ozarks of Missouri is a countryside far famed for its multitudinous murders and stabbings. The locality has not known peaceful festivity of any description within the recollection of the oldest settlers. Yet the community has not produced a larceny trial for more than twenty years. Sneak thieves are rare and burglaries virtually unknown in the average backwoods community. Houses stand open the year round. A locksmith would starve in a backwoods community.

This high respect for property coupled with low regard for human life has had various explanations. It may be a direct hangover from the frontier period, when life was easily begot and handily replenished, while personal property was extremely scarce and therefore doubly precious. But in any event backwoods honesty is not superimposed by the ulterior mandates of efficient commerce or by the parleys and philanderings of courts and lawmakers. Considered ethically, the backwoods courts are interesting primarily because of their propensity for sidestepping legislative abortions and interpreting facts and statutes according to the primitive and indigenous ethical standards of those concerned. Domestic legalities draw no great amount of notice in the back country. Not infrequently the staunchest of upbrush couples live together for a lifetime without investing in a marriage license or submitting to the formality of a recorded wedding. When there is a wedding, it may be the occasion for a community feast and merrymaking, or it may consist of brief interludes of stammering within the cluttered office of a county official.

I recall one wedding in particular which transpired within the cavernous hallway of a county courthouse. A rural couple approached the janitor, who was incidentally justice of the peace, and asked to be married. The janitor-justice complied and pocketed the fee. On the way out the three of them stopped beside a baby buggy. The justice, knowing the rules of rural politics, pulled back the pink blanket and patted the infant's head.

"Purty baby—whose is hit?"

The rural swain answered with casual complacency. "Oh, it's ourn. You see, the roads was so blamed bad last winter that we couldn't very well get down to town."

# In the Driftway

THE skyscraper mania increases. But the report that nine new buildings now projected in the Wall Street district will add 300 floors and 2,600,000 square feet of rentable space to the already overburdened tip of Manhattan Island fills the Drifter only with dismay. It is time that someone, if only a humble Drifter, called out against this mounting foolishness. The folly of a garden on arches is no greater than the folly of a city on stilts. And the Drifter here registers a protest which he confidently expects to grow into a life-sized revolt, to go down in history as the Skyscraper Rebellion.

* * * * *

NOW, the Drifter has been patient with skyscrapers. He has marveled at their height in the approved American schoolboy fashion and he has praised, when he could, their varying and often beautiful final flings into the clouds. He has glowed with pride each time a foreigner has exclaimed over that skyline whose like the world has never seen before. He has even accepted, with grace born probably of a Drifter's lack of experience, the smothering subway crowds and the packed streets that lie at every skyscraper's feet. But the Drifter has long since decided that aside from the prestige accruing to the man or men possessed of the necessary millions to build a skyscraper there is only one really important result to be obtained from building a structure seventy stories high that would not be achieved in a building twenty-five stories high—he realizes that twenty-five stories would be a skyscraper to most of the world's benighted folk. It is possible, by building seventy stories, to pile a few thousand more units of humanity into one heap on a given piece of unoffending land. Reduce by two-thirds the number of stories in every high building in New York City. Surely the beauty of the famous skyline would be very little impaired. Height, as such, has little to do with that beauty. The skyline could still be mysteriously veiled in inimitable New York smoke, to the delight of visitors, for though the buildings would be farther from the clouds, so would the smokestacks. What is more, if we continue to build nothing but skyscrapers we shall lose that very contrast in heights which makes our skyline what it is.

* * * * *

THE desire for height, like the desire for size and newness, is quite natural, though adolescent, and the Drifter realizes it. But he thinks that Paris, for instance, has handled the problem more intelligently. Paris has made the necessary concession. It has granted one burst of height—and, surely, the Eiffel tower is high enough to suit anyone. When a Parisian feels the urge for height and the sense of power it gives him, he ascends the tower, has a satisfying look over his beloved city, and returns to live and work in buildings of reasonable size which are capable of housing a reasonable number of people without cluttering the streets at closing time.

* * * * *

CERTAIN apologists have tried to tell the Drifter that the top halves of skyscrapers are necessary for the housing of modern American industry. He doubts even the face value of that argument, for he has heard too much about the fantastic schemes employed by renting agents to coax the tenants out of older buildings in order to fill all the floors of new piles of offices. And furthermore, there is nothing sacred about modern industry. Only a spineless race with brains of straw will let itself be forever crammed into subways, jammed into elevators, and shot into space in order that "modern industry" may be enabled to sell more separate brands of what might as well be the same toothpaste. To another, milder, protest, that the average height of New York buildings is only five stories, the Drifter replies that the statement merely confirms an old suspicion of his that those sacred averages so breathlessly arrived at by "scientific" minds are quite meaningless.

* * * * *

SURELY in America we have demonstrated beyond question of any presumptuous foreigner that we can pile up blocks of steel and bricks and stone to incredible heights—and at stupendous cost—without having them fall down.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

There is no doubt, in other words, that we are bright children with money to burn or throw into the air. Now we can well afford to consider from an adult point of view the amenities of life on this planet. Man may not be the center of the universe but there is no reason why he should yield as well the center of that limited world of brick and stone he more or less controls. THE DRIFTER

# Correspondence

## Taking Issue with Mr. Stolberg

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Benjamin Stolberg's article, The Degradation of American Psychology, in your issue of October 15 is so misleading that an answer seems to be warranted in spite of the article's gross factual errors, which are obvious to anyone who has more than a superficial knowledge of the subject.

Apparently, his main thesis is that "the mental test and the other half-wit metric movements in American psychology are really part and parcel of the natural drift of pragmatism into behaviorism . . ." and that "like all cultures, our institutionalized plutocracy has created its own philosophy, its own 'scientific' method, and its own psychological apologetics. And in being an essentially vulgar and dull culture it created them in its own image." The names usually given by historians of psychology as the creators of the mental test are Galton, Kraeplin, Ebbinghaus, Cattell, and Binet. Of these five, only the fourth, Cattell, although the first assistant in the first psychological laboratory in Leipzig, is by birth and citizenship entitled to be classed among "our institutionalized plutocracy." The first was a well-known English gentleman; the second and third good Germans, while the fifth, to whom most credit is due, was a Frenchman, a vitalist, and a dualist. The first champion of the Binet tests was the Belgian Decroly, in 1906. The first extensive application of these tests outside of France was made by Trever and Saffiotti in Italy in 1909, followed by the work of Schubert in Russia in 1910. Terman did not begin his "psychological senselessness" until 1912, when he borrowed the "I. Q. monkeyshines" from the German Stern.

In 1930 we still find the chief theoretician of mental measurements to be the London mathematician and professor of philosophy, Spearman, while "socialistic" Germany is beating the "capitalistic" United States in the use of mental tests in personnel administration, "whose 'psychology' is really a variety of sublimated strike-breaking," and in Soviet Russia the five-year plan for I.Q.'s, E.Q.'s, and A.Q.'s seems to be carried out with no less bolshevist zeal than that for tractors.

Mr. Stolberg states that Pavlov received the Nobel prize in 1904 for his work on conditioning, while, as any undergraduate could testify, experimentation in artificial conditioning did not begin before 1905, the prize having been awarded to Pavlov for his purely physiological studies of digestion.

In closing may I quote what Pavlov says about Thorndike? Writing about his studies in conditioning, Pavlov states:

> Thereupon I studied in more detail the American publications, and I must acknowledge that the honor of having made the first steps along this path belongs to E. L. Thorndike. By two or three years his experiments preceded ours, and his book must be considered as a classic, both for its bold outlook on an immense task and for accuracy of its results. [Pavlov, "Lectures on Conditioned Reflexes," 1928, p. 401.]

*New York, October 21* H. S. RAZRAN

## They Are Not Psychologists

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have read with keen interest Benjamin Stolberg's article in *The Nation* for October 15. I note that he includes in his list of psychologists individuals who cannot rightly be called psychologists any more than anyone who thinks or writes can be described as a psychologist. Professor Pitkin, for instance, is a teacher in the School of Journalism who has kept records on certain people and calls it case work. Dr. George Dorsey is a biologist.

At the same time, Mr. Stolberg makes no mention of really representative American psychologists. Dr. Paul Radosavljevich at New York University, Professor Woodworth at Columbia, in fact, fine psychologists in American universities from Maine to Florida are doing able clinical and laboratory work.

It was men like G. Stanley Hall, a genetic psychologist, student of Wundt and founder of the first psychological laboratory at Johns Hopkins, and Mr. McKeen Cattell who really laid the foundations of our American psychology.

It is worth while to draw attention to those who, as Mr. Stolberg states, are degrading the science, but let us be just in including only psychologists.

*New York, October 20* ELEANOR KEMP

## Of Some Use

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Mr. Benjamin Stolberg in his article The Degradation of American Psychology selects a small number of persons, all of whom he dubs psychologists—James, Dewey, Thorndike, Terman, Watson, Dorsey, Pitkin—and parades them in order to a piping of ridicule. This selection of names is rather arresting, and one wonders what factor governed the choosing. One is certain, at least, that it was not a determination to make a careful, thoroughgoing survey.

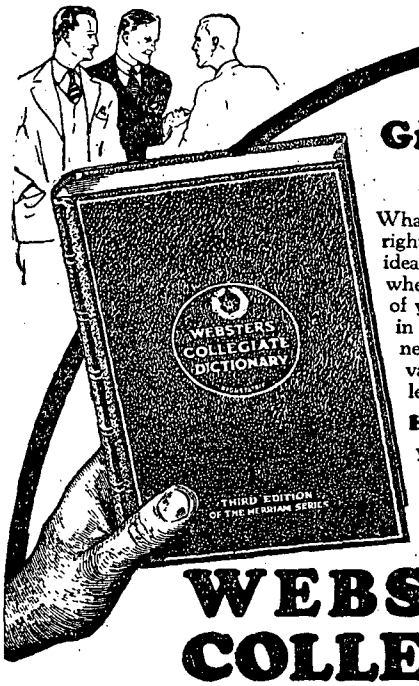
Mr. Stolberg describes a series of articles attacking mental tests which were written by Walter Lippmann nearly ten years ago. Having read the articles, I believe some of their contentions are true. But one might suggest that while Mr. Lippmann is a brilliant journalist, editor, and writer on politics, sociology, and ethics, he is somewhat more competent to speak on these subjects than on psychology.

It is of course open to anyone to say about any research, "I don't believe it!" or "If true, what of it?" and both are asserted about almost *any* research in almost *any* field, particularly psychology, which as an *experimental* science (or discipline, as you will) is only about fifty or sixty years old—very youthful as compared with the exact sciences and their two or three hundred years of experiment. Much of the criticism of psychology is richly deserved. The main trouble springs from the youth of the subject, the too great enthusiasm of its devotees, and possibly, also, from the intrinsic nature of the subject matter.

But, for instance, some of us have found certain mental tests to be useful for certain purposes—in selecting those mentally deficient persons who need institutional care, in classifying students for types of training, or in selecting employees. In our work we naturally use the best instruments, such as they are, which come to our hands. That they are no better is deplorable, but no one's fault. It cannot be denied that they are of some use in our present culture.

*Harrisburg, Pa., October 22* DOROTHY DURLING

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED




**No Need to Grope for the Right Word**

What a handicap it is to lack the right words for expressing your ideas—to hesitate, and stammer, when clear, accurate expression of your thoughts means success in business or social life. You need not be under this disadvantage with Webster's Collegiate Dictionary at hand.

**Here's the Ready Guide**

you constantly need to clear up all difficulties in the use of words—to build up your vocabulary—to protect you from errors—

**WEBSTER'S COLLEGIATE**

**106,000 entries**; a dictionary of **Biography**; a **Gazetteer**; rules of **punctuation**; use of **capitals, abbreviations**, etc.; a dictionary of **foreign phrases. 1,256 pages; 1,700 illustrations.**

**The Best Abridged Dictionary** because it is based upon the "Supreme Authority"—Webster's New International Dictionary.

*The Thin-Paper Edition is handsome and convenient. Special Merriam Cloth, $5.00; Fabrikoid, $6.00; Leather, $7.50.*

Purchase of your bookseller; or send order and remittance direct to us; or write for information. Free specimen pages if you mention this paper.

**G. & C. MERRIAM COMPANY, Springfield, Mass.**

*The First Complete Statement of the*

**5-YEAR PLAN OF THE SOVIET UNION**

by G. T. GRINKO

*Vice-Chairman of the Soviet Planning Comm.*

With a detailed analysis of its role in world economy and its first two years of operation. **$3.50**

**MEMORIES OF LENIN**

by N. KRUPSKAYA

*(Lenin's Wife)*

"A model for realistic biographies."—*N. Y. Evening Post.* **$1.50**

**BRUSSKI**

THE SOIL REDEEMED

by F. PANFEROV

A new novel of the Soviet village. **$2.50**

**At all bookstores**

*Write for Complete Catalog*

INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS

381 Fourth Ave. New York

**WANTED:** Nation readers to sell The Nation to *new* Nation readers. We provide liberal commissions, and sales helps that will enable you to produce quantity circulation from your community. Here's an opportunity to establish a substantial year-around addition to your income.

*Write Department 10, The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York, for particulars.*

# Straight to the Point

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Your leading editorial, Mr. Hoover in the Campaign, in the issue of October 15 goes straight to the point. It seems probable now that there will be quite an influx of new faces in both branches of Congress after the coming election, and they will not all be Republicans. If the United States government were not still geared to the ox cart and stage coach, there is every indication that Mr. Hoover would also be thrown into the discard, where he properly belongs.

*Michoacán, Mexico, October 21* Royal P. Jarvis

# The Problem of Crime

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Crime is a great burden upon society, and even the so-called criminals do not benefit greatly by it, if at all. Unemployment, bad housing conditions, lack of proper education have a tendency to accelerate crime, but even when these difficulties are ameliorated or entirely removed, we cannot expect ideal conditions. Harsh conditions, bad treatment of prisoners, capital punishment, long terms of imprisonment will not decrease crime. Neither does the whipping of prisoners, nor the administering of the third degree.

The only thing that really helps in the prevention of crime is to have sure and quick justice. High-grade authorities who could be depended upon to detect and prevent crime without much delay would be of great benefit. More attention should be paid to prevention of crime than to harsh punishment. Under the present system the authorities are not given much credit when they learn of a crime that is likely to occur and then prevent its occurrence. It is rather the other way. Only when the crime has been actually committed and found out are the police or detectives rewarded or given credit. The highest class of detectives, police, district attorneys or other legal prosecutors, wardens, and keepers should be employed, persons who have the confidence of the public; and the ability and reputation of these officials should be so well known and of such a character that even the criminals themselves would feel that they were beyond question. Officials should be of the highest type and should be well paid for their services.

The main purpose of everyone interested should be the reduction of the number of criminals or of those who are likely to become criminals. A high-grade parole and probation system with the highest type of probation officers should be introduced. This we are commencing to have now in the State of New York. Even the prisoners should be made to feel that they are getting justice and a square deal, that any promises made will be carried out, and that there is a chance of a future for them if they go straight. In addition to parole, I should like to have consideration given to the question of housing those prisoners who have never committed an act of violence and are not likely to do so, in simple farm buildings of the dormitory or single-room type in a country place, where they could come in contact with nature and where they could do work on the land, including farming. There should also be some industrial employment which would keep them all occupied, and their work and training should be of such a nature that it would be of use to them after their discharge. Some remuneration should be paid the prisoners for their work, and they should be made to understand that if they attempted to escape or did not do what was right they would be transferred to the regular prisons.

*New York, October 22* Adolph Lewisohn



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Books, Drama, Films

## Memoir

By IRWIN EDMAN

It is too late now to recover
The never having been a lover;
No art nor scruple can efface
The past corroded on this place;
A reminiscent aching light
Identifies this dusk tonight,
And every syllable that's said
Echoes dead sounds that are not dead.

If one could only look with fresh
Eyes, and touch with candid flesh!
Oh! stained with action still to be
Immaculate with infancy,
And let the heart speak out the sure
And novel language of the pure.

But since time haunts and memory lives,
And fact endures (though God forgives)
Through ashes of regret and blame
Let the dull coals be stirred to flame,
And trust to tokens, cheap and old,
To shine like true, remembered gold.

## Charles Horton Cooley

*Sociological Theory and Social Research.* Selected Papers of Charles Horton Cooley. Henry Holt and Company. $3.

WHEN Charles Horton Cooley died in May of last year his passing attracted no general notice. There was no recognition—if we except some of his colleagues in sociology—that America had lost one of its most important contemporary thinkers. Yet Cooley seems to me as important and original a sociologist as either William Graham Sumner or Lester Ward. More than either of them he saw society as an organic psychical unit; he did more, I think, than any other single thinker to vivify and extend this conception, and to see some of its innumerable implications. What he saw, in short, was that the individual human mind is at bottom a social product. He saw that the old antithesis between "individual" and "social" was false; that personality is an essentially social thing; that even the "I" feeling can only be developed by social influences; that the thought process within the "individual mind" is a social process—we think in words, and, indeed, in conversations. He saw, in other words, that the individual monad is a myth, that the individual's machinery of thought, his language and logic, his ideals and interests are socially given, that apart from social intercourse his mental life would be a mere potentiality. In his "Social Organization," which appeared in 1909, he wrote:

> Mind is an organic whole, made up of cooperating individualities, in somewhat the same way that the music of an orchestra is made up of divergent but related sounds. No one would think it necessary or reasonable to divide the music into two kinds, that made by the whole, and that of the particular instruments, and no more are there two kinds of mind, the social mind and the individual mind. The view that all mind acts together in a vital whole, from which that of the individual is never really separate, flows naturally from our growing knowledge of heredity and suggestion, which makes it increasingly clear that every thought we have is linked with the thought of our ancestors and associates, and through them with that of society at large. It is also the only view consistent with the general standpoint of modern science, which admits nothing isolate in nature.
>
> The unity of the social mind consists not in agreement but in organization, in the fact of reciprocal influence or causation among its parts; by virtue of which everything that takes place in it is connected with everything else, and so is an outcome of the whole. Whether, like the orchestra, it gives forth harmony may be a matter of dispute, but that its sound, pleasing or otherwise, is the expression of a vital cooperation cannot well be denied.

Cooley's contribution to sociology consisted partly in the formulation and partly in the fruitful extension of this concept. The present posthumous volume is a collection of papers written over a long period, discussing, always with sense and sometimes with profundity, a variety of social problems. The monograph on "Genius, Fame and the Comparison of Races" is typical. Written in 1897, it was the first and is still in some ways the most thorough general answer to those portions of Galton's "Hereditary Genius" which belittled the influence of social factors in the rise of a man of genius to fame. The view that genius always conquers every obstacle and discouragement is still the popular one; even Mr. Mencken has derided the possibility of "mute, inglorious Miltons." But the latest verdict of biology, as reflected, for example, in H. S. Jennings's recent "Biological Basis of Human Nature," is that environment is fully as important a factor in the development of the individual as heredity—if, indeed, either factor can be considered in isolation from the other. And this is the conclusion which Cooley anticipated more than a generation ago. He made the reasonable assumption that the production of geniuses from one generation to another is comparatively uniform, and that environmental forces determine which geniuses shall achieve greatness or fame. He could not dismiss as a mere coincidence the fact that geniuses always seem to emerge in widely separated clusters—in the Athens of Pericles, the London of Elizabeth, the Florence of the Medicis—and that when they do appear their genius runs so frequently in the same channels—great painters in fifteenth-century Italy, great dramatists in Elizabethan England, and so on. He was obliged to conclude that every able race probably turns out a number of greatly endowed men many times larger than the number that attains to fame; that great careers depend not only upon natural ability, but upon a social and historical environment, atmosphere, or situation to make this ability effective—in brief, that no career can be independent of circumstances or the spirit of the age. Cooley wasted little time, therefore, in wondering why great literary and artistic geniuses were not "born" in America; the problem, he saw, was to analyze the cultural conditions which prevented such geniuses from attaining more than a relatively stunted growth. Much of the high value of the recent criticism of such writers as Van Wyck Brooks, Lewis Mumford, and Matthew Josephson must be set down to the fact that they see the problem essentially as Cooley saw it.

Because Cooley was a great sociologist, he was much more than a sociologist. He must have smiled often at the pretentious jargon and essential hollowness of so many of his colleagues; he saw clearly that most of what still passes for sociology is merely a parade of precise method with deplorably lax assumptions underneath. What the sociologist needed more than any other scientist, he felt, was breadth of humane culture, a deep knowledge of the historic, literary, and artistic traditions. This broad humane culture Cooley himself

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

possessed in high degree. In an autobiographical note included in the present volume, he tells us that the three minds from which his own received its main impulses were those of Emerson, Goethe, and Darwin. That he read them to good purpose is apparent in a volume of random notes, aphorisms, and *pensées* that he published in 1927 under the title "Life and the Student."* The book attracted relatively little attention at the time of its appearance, but it seems to me one of the important American books of the last decade, the mature fruit of a rich, wise, and serene mind. In temper and quality it resembles strikingly the journals of Emerson and Thoreau; it contains aphorisms that either of those writers would have been proud to coin. But Cooley's greatest contribution lay in the width and depth of his recognition that there is no highly developed man without highly developed groups, that our individual lives cannot, generally, be works of art unless the social order is also. "If language," he asked, "is subject matter for art, and manners, why not the social order itself, of which these are aspects? Is not the creation of a fair society the supreme and inclusive art?"

HENRY HAZLITT

# Unrealized Realism

*Vagabonds.* By Knut Hamsun. Coward-McCann. $3.

KNUT HAMSUN is commonly regarded as one of the great European writers of our day, and yet I doubt whether a worse novel than this has ever been written by any American novelist of distinction. American writers, at least those of today, are too shrewd, on the whole, to let their work become so dull. Lacking Hamsun's knowledge of life in its vast variety of detail and stark brutality of substance, our writers, nevertheless—a Dreiser, an Anderson, or a Cather—would carve out a portion of life that would reveal more in its narrow way than this novel does in its wide and expansive one. Hamsun takes all of life for his province—and yet reveals less of it than many other authors who focus their vision upon a small but important part of it. Hamsun's work, therefore, lacks in intensity what it possesses in extensity. In "Growth of the Soil" this extensity achieved a kind of earthy, primeval magnificence. In "Vagabonds" it has simply spread itself out over vast masses of materials, in desert-like formation, with indentations but without oases.

In "The New Grub Street" George Gissing describes a character, an intellectual grocer if I recall, who set out to write the only realistic novel that had ever been conceived. When it was done it was so realistic that it was unreadable. Life was there, it was true, life in all its petty, intimate details, expressing itself with exasperating fidelity to fact in people, happenings, things—but nothing else. Realism was there, then, but not realization—and it is realization of meanings and significances that is necessary to convert reality into art. "Vagabonds" reminds me of that novel. It is realistic, too realistic if you will, but without realization. The characters in the book are real; the things they do are natural enough, considering the circumstances of their existence; everything is lifelike, but so lifelike, so ordinary, so uninspired that one does not care whether the people are real or not or become interested in what they do. Realism here, in other words, as elsewhere, means nothing, contributes nothing, unless it gets beneath the skin of reality into that which palpitates within. "Vagabonds" never does that. It is skin-deep realism of the most uninteresting sort.

The title of the novel at least is well chosen. The characters are all of that restless, chaotic, vagabondish type that very often provides material for really stirring and intense fiction. The story itself, abstracted from all the minutiae of surrounding details and the hopeless jumble of interpolated episodes, i interesting enough on the surface. It is these details and inter polations, however, that retard its advance. The only integrat ing element in the novel is its Wanderlust motif, which, like ar unresting cosmic urge, dominates character and situation. Ede vart, the protagonist, is an embodiment of that urge in its mos futile form. Inspired by his friend August, who had spent his entire life in wandering up and down the world, Edevart adopts the migratory habit which clings to him throughout his life leading him finally to America in pursuit of Lovisa, his sweetheart. Unfortunately, wanderings almost inevitably become wearisome when they follow in too steady a succession, that is, unless they are so exciting that they constantly evoke a thrill, or awaken in their order of sequence a form of suspense, or, better still, have about them in the telling an element of the Homeric. These wanderings have none of these virtues in their narration. The same Wanderlust that lives in Edevart and August and even in Papst, the wandering peddler, finds no less active form in Lovisa Margareta, who is never happy where she is and seeks always the happiness of the remote—remote places and remoter things. The love affair between Edevart and Lovisa is the only part of the novel that rises above the drab. The night before Lovisa's husband returns from prison, when she gives herself to Edevart in a great gesture of pas sion, is one of the few scenes in the book that merit praise. But even love is second to the Wanderlust, and though Lovisa and Edevart become intimate again, it is only to part later when Lovisa's restlessness makes it impossible for her to remain in Norway any longer. No passage reveals this Wanderlust spirit so well as this about Edevart, after he has received a letter from a friend in a far-away place: "Remarkable how rootless Edevart had become, for this letter from a strange man living in a strange place filled him with an emotion akin to home-sickness."

These materials in the hands of another novelist, a younger Hamsun perhaps, might have been made into a powerful fiction. Hamsun simply has not *realized* their potentialities. The traces of age are present throughout the work. Not only did an old man write this novel, but he has written it in a manner that is dying, and about the spirit of an age that is already dead.

V. F. CALVERTON

# The Mandate System

*Mandates Under the League of Nations.* By Quincy Wright. University of Chicago Press. $6.

PROFESSOR WRIGHT'S book is to be classed with works which, until policies themselves change, may be regarded as definitive. Beginning with an account of the origin and development of the mandate system for the control of non-European territories taken from Germany and Turkey as a result of the World War, Professor Wright goes on to examine the organization of the system through the League of Nations and its secretariat, the Permanent Mandates Commission, and the World Court, and the standards of procedure and conduct that have been set up regarding such matters as the relations between natives and whites, native participation in government, and labor, land, education, and health. Following this is an elaborate discussion of the legal aspects of the system, including the principles of international, public, and private law applicable to mandated territory and its inhabitants and to the rights of the League, the mandatory Powers, the people who are ruled, and third states. The study ends with a summary survey of the accomplishments of the system and an estimate of its worth. An appendix contains documentary and statistical material and an exhaustive bibliography. Professor Wright's

* Alfred A. Knopf.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

udgment of the system is restrained, but he concludes that while strict statistical demonstration is impossible, it appears hat the mandates system has developed policies favorable to ative health, agriculture, education, and security," that order as been maintained with few interruptions, and that the system has proved a practical method for administering backward reas, more satisfactory than others that have been tried from he standpoint of the natives and from the standpoint of the vorld in general." The book is a mine of well-arranged information and a scholarly performance of a high order.

WILLIAM MACDONALD

# The Victorian Tragedy

*As We Were.* By E. F. Benson. Longmans, Green and Company. $4.

*In the Days of Bicycles and Bustles.* The Diary of R. D. Blumenfeld, 1883-1914. Brewer and Warren. $3.50.

*Those Earnest Victorians.* By Esmé Wingfield-Stratford. William Morrow and Company. $3.50.

THE fact that Victorian reminiscence has assumed the proportions of a major industry during the past twenty years offers little comfort to the serious historian of nineteenth-century life. To him, at least one aspect of the age's tragedy lies in its conventional memoirs: they invariably skim the delusive surfaces of a period in whose undercurrents few courageous investigators risk their plumb lines. From the litter thrown up by every season's tide of memories and confessions the vigilant may comb a few valuable anecdotes, sometimes a useful disclosure, an occasional revision of judgment. Usually, however, the murex is lost in a heap of rubbish. The verdict of the century's most illustrious modern critic is largely justified: "The history of the Victorian Age will never be written: we know too much about it."

Yet the epigram misstates the problem. Of eminent Victorians alone does our knowledge suffer by excess. Of the organic disruption in the time, and of the responsibility for its universal distress, a fundamental ignorance still prevails. No chronicler of Victoria's reign writes wholly without the implication of pervasive tragedy, but the historian is still rare who attempts, by rigorous critical synthesis and judgment, to define that tragedy and assign its causes. For every Wilfrid Blunt, preserving in his diaries a historical image so sound in perspective as to remain undistorted by the multitude of actors that populates it, there appear a score of E. F. Bensons, whose intimacy with the lights of Victorian society lends little authority to their own diffuse and garrulous reflections. The efforts of a Wingfield-Stratford in passing sober moral judgment on his ancestors are grievously offset by a dozen Blumenfelds—astute and successful journalists who, in collating their diaries, contrive nothing but a diverting vaudeville of coronations and parades, banquets and back-stage rumors, with only the mysterious thunder of scattered battle fronts to hint at more desperate business afoot.

The present three volumes cover, with varying authority, three planes of English life between 1830 and 1914: Benson's, the sphere of higher gentility, fringed on one hand by diplomatic and university circles and on the other, through the grace of the Archbishopric of Canterbury, by the court itself; Blumenfeld's, those political and social sanctums of the Empire whose corridor is Fleet Street; Wingfield-Stratford's, the vaster levels of common life with frontiers extending from the country house and fox hunt to the factories of Manchester and the slums of London—the world, in fact, of the middle classes who swept into power under Victoria and Peel, only to find their ranks crowded by motley, conflicting elements whom no legislative manipulation or moral community could reconcile. Two other types of book are needed to make the gallery complete: a testament from the purple, such as the boudoir memories of Lady Warwick's "Time's Ebb and Flow," and a document straight from the abyss—the early life of Edwin Clayhanger's father, perhaps, or the diary of a Victorian Moll Flanders comparable to the recent American volume "No Bed of Roses."

Benson's subtitle, "A Victorian Peep-Show," is seriously belied by the wholesale parade of private matters which he furnishes in this volume and its predecessors, "Mother" and "Our Family Affairs." Any eclipse the Benson family may suffer in the future can never be attributed to the reticence of its sons. With every art becoming the once lauded author of "Dodo," Mr. Benson conducts us through a storehouse of dusty waxworks. Once more he unveils the Three Monumental Figures (Gladstone, Tennyson, and the Queen, whom he prefers to describe as "mysterious"); the Three Great Ladies (Duchess of Manchester, Lady Londonderry, and "Lady Ripon, at that time Lady de Grey"); the Rebels (Pre-Raphaelites, Swinburne, George Moore, Whistler); the Young Men of the Nineties; and, as a gory interlude, Two Scandals (the Tranby Croft affair, that dreadful gambling episode at Mr. Arthur Wilson's house near Doncaster in September, 1890, which involved, my dear reader, no less a personage than H. R. H. the Prince of Wales, and that venerable skeleton of the delectable rattle, the Wilde-Queensberry lawsuit). Before every spectacle Mr. Benson purrs with delight and professes a modish cynicism, but he leaves us in August, 1914, with as little sense of how we arrived there as if we had, indeed, spent fifty or sixty years inside Mme Tussaud's Museum, only to find the building suddenly ablaze, heroes and villains alike melting to featureless insignificance, and ourselves astounded at "the beautiful ruins."

Blumenfeld, the American dean of Fleet Street, is another cicerone who leads us no farther than August, 1914—a favorite trick of those chroniclers to whom, as to Mr. Owen Wister, Austrian crown princes, Serbian assassins, and Sarajevo appear to be little more than "unpronounceable names" out of a book of legends. Blumenfeld's title—despite his claim to journalistic eminence—is apt. The bicycles and bustles amuse him far more than the clamor of nations and the rout of empire. Any page provides a measure for his analytical competence: "Maude Garland, the statuesque Juno who used to stir the hearts of our young Guardsmen at the Gaiety, had a bad fall in the park this morning and was taken into St. George's Hospital severely bruised. . . . Ladies who persist in riding bicycles in long skirts must expect to get hurt." These sober entries are occasionally interrupted by more dramatic and remote considerations, as when (October 22, 1900) he observes that "these cold nights are bad for the out-sleepers on the Embankment" or when (August 1, 1914) he announces that "if this country does not stand up for right and honor she will be forever damned." But usually he prefers to mark the amiable course of history by noting that "everybody is buying gramophones and ping-pong sets," that "one of the actresses at the Criterion last night wore a pair of white stockings in the new fashion which the French have been vainly attempting to establish this year," and that "poor old Sims Reeves is dead at last . . . and we shall never again hear him sing 'Come into the Garden, Maud.' "

With this creaking puppetry Mr. Wingfield-Stratford is not concerned. His book, whose theme is more clearly revealed by its English title, "The Victorian Tragedy," is only in superficial respects an inventory of personalities and fashions. From the first page it grasps its essential problem with an insight that wins for the author a rank among the nineteenth century's reputable historians—McCarthy, Rogers, C. R. Fay, Smart, and Mrs. Neff. From the economic chaos inherited by England at the close of the Napoleonic wars to the dubious prospect con-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fronting the declining aristocracy in the eighties, he has followed a line of consistent historical logic. He is suspicious alike of the fustian piety of official documents and of the cynicism of modern satirists. Around the Victorian gods he has no desire to perpetuate a delusive twilight, yet neither does he wish to reduce them to absurdity. His respect for industry and moral sobriety is unequivocal, but this does not prevent him from seeing that the age was fundamentally mistaken in its aims and methods, that its leaders were irresolute in motive, that its unparalleled opportunities for social progress were unaccompanied by compatible honesty, and that its one popular morality was the debased and self-defeating doctrine of the "somehow good." To the contemporary world the Victorians left, along with their splendors, a legacy of political confusion, intellectual compromises, social inhibitions, and religious tenets unscrupulously adjusted to fit scientific and social exigencies with which even their best minds failed to grapple openly. If the criticism of the Victorian Age is to be resumed on a sound footing, and if it is to return to its vital problems in the common life, Mr. Wingfield-Stratford's book may be found to supply, in a popular form, the initiation of that attempt. However unsatisfactory in detail his special judgments may be, he has outlined with candor and authority the defeat of the Victorians, and defined the outlines of a tragedy which all their trophies and panoplies cannot disguise.

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL

# Armageddon

*Armageddon: The World War in Literature.* Edited by Eugene Löhrke. Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith. $5.

*Soldiers March!* By Theodore Fredenburgh. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.

*As I Saw It.* By Alden Brooks. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.

*No Hard Feelings!* By John Lewis Barkley. Cosmopolitan Book Corporation. $2.

*A Brass Hat in No Man's Land.* By Brigadier General F. P. Crozier, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O. Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith. $2.50.

*Baron Fritz.* By Karl Federn. Translated from the German by Donald Douglas. Farrar and Rinehart. $2.50.

AN excellent panorama of the World War is presented in the aptly titled "Armageddon," a substantial anthology of war literature. The book expresses ably the vastness of the war, showing in the variety of its material the war's omnipresent contacts and effects. The editor, Eugene Löhrke, himself the author of a war novel, "Overshadowed," has chosen his material wisely and arranged it skilfully in a creative pattern. The volume progresses steadily from the explosions at Sarajevo and the various ultimatums and declarations of war, through combat on land and sea and over and under the earth, into the social break-ups caused by the war, to the end—and then on to some of the war's aftermath.

With the exception of "Armageddon," among these several war books the reviewer finds only "Soldiers March!" of particular merit. The others are slight in value, seeming scarcely to justify publication. But "Soldiers March!" by a former member of the Twenty-sixth—Yankee—Division is a good story well told—a sturdy, realistic narrative about a non-commissioned officer. This central figure, Ed Zorn, is well characterized and holds one's interest to the end.

"As I Saw It," in the form of a personal memoir by an American who served with the French artillery, is written with literary care but without inspiration.

The title "No Hard Feelings!" is better than the book itself. This again is the personal memoir of an American private—a good soldier, winner of a Congressional Medal of Honor. The best portion of the book is the writer's mode description of the feat which earned him the decoration. B good soldiers do not always make good writers.

"A Brass Hat in No Man's Land" is a very loosely co structed volume, once again a personal memoir, by an Irishma and a general officer. Like the narrative of the American pr vate, it is without literary value. It contains a great deal abo fighting, many lengthy references to sexual conditions amon the soldiers in England and France, and at the end a feeble ple for international peace. A general should do better.

"Baron Fritz" is a series of short stories, or rather inc dents, recounting the experiences in war and love—in field an boudoir, the jacket says—of the dashing Baron Fritz Talbo Latour von Saint-Aubin. It is a light book, not badly writte apparently aiming to amuse, but with scant sense of reality o significance as war literature.

JAMES B. WHARTON

# Lecky, 1930 Style

*Mrs. Grundy.* By Leo Markun. D. Appleton and Company. $5

THIS is an extensive history of four centuries of morals intended, according to the subtitle, to "illuminate present problems in Great Britain and the United States." As a thesaurus of moral habits, it reveals a tremendous industry and is truly remarkable. It conveys the information within a single chapter that "in the inns of the sixteenth century men and women who were entire strangers to each other were lodged in the same bedroom, on occasion in the same bed"; that "the beautiful, prosperous city of Nuremberg maintained a public wagon to carry home burghers who were unable to lift themselves out of the gutter"; that it was Catherine de Medici who introduced the corset in something like its present form. In short, the reader is presented with a thousand Sunday Supplement articles rolled into one, with a sort of moral anatomy of melancholy, done in a first-class journalistic style.

That this kind of history may be useful, and even entertaining if read in small snatches, may be true; that it is very "illuminating" is, however, open to doubt. Anglo-Saxon morals are merely being paraded to satisfy an enormous Anglo-Saxon curiosity. It is only a peep-show of Anglo-Saxon morals to which we gain admittance. We are given the low-down on them in this idle book but no more. It reveals no interest in any theory of morals, or in the particular speculations of any moralists. It makes no attempt to inquire into the determining values of the periods of civilization which it surveys.

The present Markun history may be described as Lecky *à la* 1930. It will be recalled that when Lecky published his history of European morals he dealt with the subject in a fundamental and earnest fashion. But I am not now so much concerned with the merits of Lecky's work as its significance. Perhaps Lecky himself was too dogmatic and rhetorical, and it is said that this arch-rationalist used to write letters to the *Times* to protest against its running women's-underwear advertisements in its columns. But it is obvious from this very fact that morals then still had a voluntaristic basis. We have become simply interested in the fact that the *mores* do change. A history of morals for us deals simply with a titillating procession of events and incidents.

Such a view implies no moral standards and may be sophisticated. It is undoubtedly true that to recognize as an article of one's philosophy of life that the *mores* do change is a sign of civilized urbanity. But a constant preoccupation with the idea argues the possession of a mind that is basically naive. It is at least plausible to hold that morality would be idiotic if it were everywhere and at all times the same. To take a perpetual delight in the fact that our ancestors were foolish in dif-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rent ways from ourselves betrays a certain form of immaturity.

The 1930 Leckyism can be attributed in large part to the influence of anthropology among amateurs. The Markun history of morals is preceded by a review of the customs of uncivilized peoples, which is intended, presumably, to show the futility of all notions of morality. It appears that there used to be tribes that murdered their aged grandmothers, and others that considered clothes positively obscene. The logic of this does not seem quite clear. Perhaps it is that a treatise on anthropology, marked Exhibit A, is a good defense against a charge of murdering one's aged grandmother. Anthropology has obviously had a terrible effect on modern morality. It offers an immense encyclopedic knowledge of the *mores* of savages from Zanzibar to the New Hebrides with the result that morality has become a very queer indulgence. Anthropology, beginning as a good excuse for extended travel, has become so systematic and scientific that it has apparently become positively unsafe to write about morals except in a curious way.

WILLIAM SEAGLE

# Books in Brief

*D. H. Lawrence.* By Stephen Potter. Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith. $2.50.

The value of this first study of D. H. Lawrence is very slight; for it is neither biography nor criticism. Stephen Potter has used the dubious method of interpreting Lawrence's work in terms of his life, and reinterpreting the author's life in terms of his novels and poems. Thus, each novel that Lawrence wrote appears as little more than the explication of a spiritual crisis in his life. To Lawrence the extraordinary stylist and artist, few words are given. There is no doubt that Lawrence was an extraordinary man as well. But of the man himself Rebecca West has told more in a brief sketch than Potter has by extended quotation from the novels. However interesting Lawrence's ideas, they are not enough to make him the important figure in English letters that he is. Up until the time of his death Lawrence seemed bound to attract more attention as a sensational, vivid person than as a writer of genius. Since his death it is the work of the man that should be the concern of studies of him. Potter's book may be excused on the ground that it was in preparation when Lawrence died; the excuse must be small. Even while a writer is yet alive it should be possible to keep clear for oneself the interest he has as a figure and the worth his work has apart from its autobiographical content.

*Poetry at Present.* By Charles Williams. Oxford University Press. $2.50.

Mr. Williams remarks that these critical essays on modern English poets (for even Eliot is English by adoption) are meant for an introduction to the works of these poets for readers who do not know them. This may explain why the essays are descriptive rather than critical, interpretative rather than analytical. Such writing, while useful for its intended audience, does not very greatly interest readers who have, for themselves, made a study of the poets included. One wonders, however, why Rudyard Kipling, G. K. Chesterton, John Masefield, and Wilfrid Gibson should need any introduction to a public that enjoys balladry and narrative. The range of poets interpreted by Mr. Williams is rather large: it runs all the way from Kipling and Bridges to the Sitwell family. And it is to be noted that Mr. Williams is better at interpreting some of the older poets than he is at interpreting the most modern. He very frankly states that although he writes about T. S. Eliot, he understands him very ill. For the Sitwells, on the other

"Mr. Sullivan's record is the true Americana."
—GILBERT SELDES in the *New York Herald Tribune.*

**Pre-War America**
***The new volume of "Our Times"***
**by Mark Sullivan**

"Those who recall its predecessors, 'The Turn of the Century' and 'America Finding Herself', . . . will rush to the nearest bookstore to buy the book."—LEWIS GANNETT in the *New York Herald Tribune. 563 pages. 200 illustrations.* $5.00

**On Forsyte 'Change**
**by John Galsworthy**

"A collection of some of the very best short stories in recent years, varied of mood and perfect in execution."—PERCY HUTCHISON in the *New York Times. 19 stories. 256 pages.* $2.50

**A Roving Commission**
***My Early Years***
**by Winston S. Churchill**
*author of "The World Crisis"*

"As long as there are young men and women they will thumb with delight the tale of adventures told by Mr. Churchill with the skill of a Dumas."—*London Observer. Profusely illustrated.* $3.50

**Jeb Stuart**
**by Capt. John W. Thomason, U. S. M. C.**
*author of "Fix Bayonets!" etc.*

"For sheer dash and adventure and the nervous shiver of squadrons charging on horseback I know of no recent book to recommend so warmly."—GEORGE BRITT in the *New York Telegram. Illustrated by the author.* $5.00

**In Our Time**
**by Ernest Hemingway**

A new revised edition of the short stories that first introduced a brilliant talent to American letters. With an introduction by Edmund Wilson and an "Introduction by the Author."

**The Street of the Islands**
**by Stark Young**
*Author of "River House"*

Stories and sketches of Southern lands and emotions.

"Beautifully written and delicately keyed to a single tone."—*New Yorker. Illustrated.* $2.50

*at your bookstore*

**CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, New York**



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

**NORMAN THOMAS**
OUR CHANGING WAYS OF LIVING
Mon., Nov. 10, 8.30 p.m.

**NEW FALL MID-TERM COURSES**

MORRIS HILLQUIT Wed., Nov. 12, 8.30 p.m.
WORLD SOCIALISM TODAY

ALAN PORTER Wed., Nov. 12, 7 p.m.
THE MODERN STATE

AUGUST CLAESSENS Nov. 13, 8.30 p.m.
NATURE OR NURTURE

FELIX SPER Nov. 13, 8.30 p.m.
TWENTIETH CENTURY DRAMA

NATHAN FINE Sat., Nov. 8, 8.30 p.m.
RESEARCH TECHNIQUE

Registration now on for Fall Mid-term Courses
Five-lecture courses; fee $1.75

**RAND SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE**
7 E. 15th St. Alg. 3095

FORUM ON CURRENT EVENTS BEGINS NOV. 15

THE PRESS
*Today*

by OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

HERE Mr. Villard traces the development and policy trends of the Associated Press and the United Press; outlines the growth of the chain dailies; discusses the standardization of the press and the forces and conditions which in America today make it next to impossible for an anti-capitalist newspaper to survive; and pictures, with numerous examples in point, the opportunity that still exists for the courageous independent journalist in the small city.

**75c a Copy**

***Or free with a year of* The Nation**

THE NATION 20 Vesey St. NEW YORK

☐ For the enclosed $____ send me ____ copies of The Press Today, by Oswald Garrison Villard.

☐ For the enclosed $5, enter my one-year subscription to *The Nation*, and send me the book FREE.

*Name* _____

*Address* _____

11-12-30

hand, Mr. Williams expresses enthusiasm. Nevertheless, th essay on this family of poets is not particularly illuminating The essay on Thomas Hardy is good, and that on Yeats i competent.

*The Erl King.* By Edwin Granberry. The Macaulay Company. $2.50.

It is rare today to read a book in which each word is fel to be carefully considered and selected only after much deliberation; but Edwin Granberry has not only achieved this quality of style, but has reinforced it with a tale reminiscent in its delicacy and quiet approach of Alain Fournier's "Le Grand Meaulnes." The plot is a slender one; lives are only stenciled, yet by the carefully insinuated atmosphere, with the wind soughing in the forest and the seas beating against the Florida coast, they become real in spite of their strange evanescence. The hero is a restless but silent and solitary youth who without fear sails his boat again and again among the coral reefs, the scene of many shipwrecks, seeking a past world. One day he takes Ellen with him, and she is drowned. For John there is little left, and soon after he too dies. But such an outline conveys no real idea of "The Erl King's" richness and fragile beauty.

*Glass Mountain.* By Joseph Warren Beach. Macrae-Smith Company. $2.50.

From Dr. Beach, of the University of Minnesota, one of our most astute appraisers of American prose and an admirable writer himself, comes a first novel, the content of which flows from an evident interest in the spiritual malaise of today. Dr. Beach's particular concern is with American sophisticates desperately modernizing themselves in Paris, or wherever art and sex proclaim their latest emancipation. The morale of the central character almost disintegrates under the strain of adjusting the new freedom to the old emotions. While the novel shows penetrating psychological observation, the characters just fail to attain convincing vitality.

*The Street of the Islands.* By Stark Young. Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.50.

This volume includes eleven stories and sketches written with that sensitive touch which distinguishes all of Stark Young's work. The Land of Juan de Dios is a long story laid in eighteenth-century Spain and Spanish America. It affords a tender and graceful picture, the portrait of a Spanish *doña,* deserted by her husband and robbed of her only child. The Passionate Road contains another early-Spanish tale inclosed in brackets within the outline of a story laid on a Western dude ranch. Ora Pro Nobis, the last, is perhaps the most unusual piece of writing in the volume. A young man, encountered informally in Italy, proves to be a remarkable talker. He is filled with ideas. But, for the writer, his torrent of words serves only to wash bare his soul and expose his story. One admires this writing but one is conscious of a lack in all the tales. To one reader, at least, they fail to take hold on either the mind or the emotions.

*Saint Johnson.* By W. R. Burnett. The Dial Press. $2.

Burnett wrote a swift, accurate, and dramatic story in "Little Caesar" and followed it with a first-rate prize-fight yarn in "Iron Man." His latest is a "Western" and it is pretty bad. The scene is laid in an Arizona frontier town of the eighties. Thar's a heap of trouble brewing all through the tale and considerable gun-play at the end. Somehow the dialogue, which constitutes two-thirds of the book, sounds familiar in its consistent understatement. But it seems out of keeping with its time and place. The Johnson brothers can hardly have read Hemingway.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Drama

## "Roar China" at the Guild

DURING the past week the Theater Guild has begun its thirteenth season in the most fortunate of manners. Dodging the regulation stencils of our showshops, it has ent sprawling across the huge stage of the Martin Beck the very kind of thing for which the Guild was first created and which it alone among the producing organizations of New York s brave enough and sufficiently equipped to do in the gripping, far-flung manner in which it has done it.

The play with which the Guild has started off its season s "Roar China," that brutal, ridiculously caricaturing, often feeble, but frequently stirring propaganda melodrama of S. M. Tretyakov's, which under the name of "Richi, Kitai" has for some years now been one of the major staples of Meierhold's repertory. Hailing as it does from that same Soviet Russia which with "Red Rust" contributed a welcome vitality to the offerings of last winter, this turbulent, bitter, but compassionate script of Tretyakov's not only represents a far more ambitious undertaking on the part of the Guild than "Red Rust" did, but also comes through in a production which is far more successful than the one the Kirchon-Ouspensky play was given. For the simple and unminced truth is that as Mr. Simonson has set it and as Mr. Biberman has directed it, "Roar China" is one of the most skilful and visually exciting productions our theater has seen.

Tretyakov's indictment of imperialism finds expression in a flaming, wrathful melodrama that glories—as the frankly propagandist piece it is—in all the purposeful distortions which have belonged to effective propaganda from the days of Harriet Beecher Stowe right down to those not so distant days when the report of the Bryce Commission was a regular feature in our newspapers. Its loaded, staccato, and one-sided lines are vibrant with an indignation that our gentle bourgeois theater experiences but rarely, and burst upon the sensibilities of a stiff-shirt audience as something of a surprise, if not as an affront.

"Roar China" finds Russia—red Russia—having its say on the white man's conduct in the Far East and extending its sympathies to yellow China. The cartoon it draws of the sufferings which, as it states it, China has undergone at the hands of capitalistic exploiters is drawn in blood. When it has finally reached its shell-racked conclusion, and when a British naval officer has had two innocent Chinese boatmen hanged in full view of the audience, and its boatload of arrogant Anglo-Saxons has thus avenged the accidental death of an unworthy American merchant, there breaks from the throats of the many Chinese actors on the stage a thunderous roar of protest which Russian audiences are said to have taken as a symbol that China would be the next Soviet state.

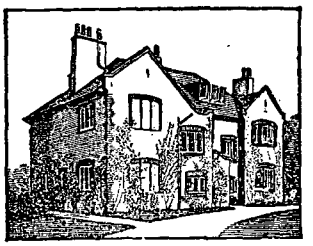
If the childish underscorings and the naive excesses of Tretyakov's treatment of his whites seem serious faults in "Roar China" when it is seen through our alien eyes, they were, needless to say, among the play's most persuasive virtues when it was acted in Moscow. Therein lies one of the most interesting sociological and dramatic features of "Roar China." For what is far more important than whether you happen to agree with the preachings of Tretyakov or are enraged by the squint-eyed partisanship of his propaganda is the fact that Russian audiences were both willing and anxious to read reality into his caricature. Accordingly, both as an adventure in theatergoing and as a first-hand picture of the Soviet mind, "Roar China" cannot but command your attention.

The production which the Guild has given Tretyakov's


THE COLLECTED WORKS OF

BERNARD SHAW

*Ayot St. Lawrence Edition*
*Limited to 1790 Numbered Sets*



*Bernard Shaw's Famous Country Place, Ayot St. Lawrence, Hertfordshire, England*

A DEFINITIVE Edition, revised, corrected and supplemented by the Author. Indexed under his direct personal supervision.

Format and typography designed by Bernard Shaw. Title pages and bindings by Carl Purington Rollins. Printed on water-marked, pure-rag paper made expressly for this edition by Miliani of Fabriano, Italy. Covers, blue Wynlaid boards with Irish linen backs. Titles in gold.

First volumes now available—balance to be shipped as released by the Author. The edition to be complete in approximately 30 volumes containing his novels, plays, prefaces, short stories, essays and virtually all of his pamphlets, criticisms and miscellaneous writings.

***Nearly one-half of the contents of this edition has never before been published in book form and is now available to the American public for the first time.***

WM. H. WISE & CO., *Publishers*,
Dept. 8511, 50 West 47th Street, New York.

Send me complete information about the Ayot St. Lawrence Edition of Bernard Shaw's Collected Works together with prices and terms.

*Name* _____

*Address* _____

*City* _____ *State* _____




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

To The Group: "at last a civilized club, in an uncivilized country, they tell me, prodigious."—GEORGE BERNARD SHAW.

THE GROUP
*A Clearing House of Opinion*
For The Intellectually Adult
meets every Tuesday evening at Auditorium
150 West 85th St. (One block East of Broadway)

Tuesday evening, November 11th, at 8:30

**DR. ALFRED ADLER**
(Eminent Viennese Psychologist)
will speak on:
"THE LIFE PATTERN AND ITS MEANING OF LIFE"

Nov. 18th. PROF. SCOTT NEARING, on:
"THE REVOLT OF LABOR"
Nov. 25th. CHANNING POLLOCK, on:
"CAN LAW MAKE US GOOD?"
Dec. 2nd. JUDGE BEN. B. LINDSEY, on:
"MARRIAGE, PRESENT AND FUTURE"

Sunday Afternoon Discussion Group
Nov. 16th at 4:30 p. m., BETTY ROSS—author of: "Bread and Love" will speak on:
"LOVE AND LIFE IN SOVIET RUSSIA"
Tea will be served Subscription 50c
(*Weekly notices mailed on request*)

The Group Invites you to membership. Lectures—Discussion Groups—Little Theatre Group—Chamber Music Group—Dance Recitals—Monthly Entertainment and Dance. Membership $1.00 for the year.

**DEBATE:** "IS RELIGION NECESSARY?"
CLARENCE
**DARROW**
Famous Criminal Lawyer—Noted Agnostic
REV. DR. NATHAN
**vs. KRASS**
of Temple Emanu-El—Upholder of Faith
CHAIRMAN: Wm. Norman Guthrie
Rector of St. Marks in-the-Bouwerie
The Catholic Church prohibited Abbe Dimnet from debating with Darrow "On Religion or Anything Else."
MECCA TEMPLE 55TH ST. & 7TH AVE. SAT. EVE., NOV. 15
TICKETS: $1.00, $1.50, $2.00, $2.75 and $3.00. For sale at Columbia Book Store, Rand School, 7 E. 15th Street and DISCUSSION GUILD, 15 East 40th Street. Lex. 7483

FRIENDSHIP TOURS
TO THE GREAT NATIONS OF THE WORLD IN NEW YORK
To reconcile the multi-colored life of New York—To wipe out racial and national prejudice—To foster good will
SEARCHLIGHT SERIES ON CURRENT SOCIAL PROBLEMS
SATURDAY, NOV. 8—3 P.M.
Conference Hall, 221 W. 57th St. (nr. Broadway)
SYMPOSIUM
CHANGING SEX STANDARDS
SPEAKERS
MR. RAY H. EVERETT, Editor, Journal of Social Hygiene.
MRS. F. ROBERTSON JONES, President, Birth Control League of America.
MRS. MARION M. MILLER, Associate Director, Child Study Association of America.
DR. S. A. TANNENBAUM, Author of "Riddle of Sex," etc.
DISCUSSION
Next Saturday, Nov. 15, A Friendship Tour to
"INDIA—IN NEW YORK"
Admission—75c. to cover expense of arrangement, printing, etc.
If you wish to receive notice of future symposiums and tours, please write
PHILIP BROWN, Director
FRIENDSHIP TOURS, 66 Court St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Phone Triangle 0500

limping script is a mob spectacle done on a heroic scale to whic our factual theater of everyday realism is all too unaccustomed It has been admirably directed by Mr. Biberman; with such a eye to groupings and with such evocative results, in fact, that i places him overnight in the front rank of our directors. It i acted by the many unprofessional Chinese players who surg through its large cast with a poise and depth that are above th acting average of our playhouses. And with its quay runnin along the proscenium, its harbor filled with the many-colore sails of sampans, and the grim guns of H. M. S. Europa levele at the village of Wan Hsien from behind, it has been visualize by Mr. Simonson in one of the most notable settings our theate has seen.

Of the other offerings of the week, Edgar Wallace's "On the Spot" (Edgar Wallace's Forrest Theater) is the most entertaining. It is a lurid and generally diverting picture of Chicago gunmen and racketeers, in which Mr. Wallace exercises once again his familiar skill at melodramatic trickeries and adds to it a refreshingly satiric point of view on his pistol-waving devices. His play, moreover, is capably acted, particularly by Crane Wilbur, who is its superracketeer, Anna May Wong, who appears as his Chinese woman, and John M. Kline, who is excellent as an incorruptible detective.

The week's other openings, "His Majesty's Car" (Ethel Barrymore Theater) and "Puppet Show" (Belmont), do not warrant taking up much of anyone's time.

JOHN MASON BROWN

# Films

## The Romantic Western

THE Wild West is again very prominently with us on the screen. Time was when the Western film was the most popular as well as the most characteristic product of cinematic art. To the majority of its admirers it provided, to use the cant phrase, "an easy escape from actuality." But there were also many who did not eschew actuality but who enjoyed a Western for the sheer force of its physical movement, for its sweeping dynamics, just as they enjoyed a good circus show. The present revival of the Western film raises the problem whether in its new form of a talkie it has preserved the old elements of its appeal, and whether it can still find favor with lowbrows and highbrows alike. It is very probable that there are as many people today as there used to be who are genuinely stirred by the "romance" of the Wild West. To these the screen-made romance of the talking West is likely to be a little less stirring, for with the use of dialogue a picture becomes either more intellectual or more stupid. In the old Western, acting was of slight importance, whereas action was the very lifeblood of the picture. Today the use of dialogue makes acting much more important than before, and this means either that the characterization and psychology are more true to life, with the resultant loss of "romance," or that the picture confines itself to the traditional stock types and situations and therefore uses a dialogue that is downright silly. On the other hand, the action, the sheer dynamics, of the Western plot has suffered greatly from the dilution with words and the consequent slowing down of tempo. On the face of this, it would seem that our more intellectual admirers of the Western, who cannot stomach it in cold print in magazine stories but who used to enjoy its purely sensuous appeal on the silent screen, will find it in its new form rather a strain on their intellectual forbearance.

These reflections are illustrated in different degrees by



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

## WITHIN THE FORTNIGHT

### Plays to See

Civic Repertory—14 St., W. of Sixth Ave.
Elizabeth The Queen—Guild—52 St., W. of B'way.
Fine and Dandy—Erlanger's—W. 44 St.
Girl Crazy—Alvin—W. 52 St.
Lysistrata—44 St., W. of B'way.
Mrs. Moonlight—Charles Hopkins—155 W. 49 St.
Once In a Lifetime—Music Box—45 St., W. of B'way.
Roar China—Martin Beck—45 St., W. of Eighth Ave.
Solid South—Lyceum—45 St., E. of B'way.
The Man in Possession—Booth—45 St., W. of B'way.
The Greeks Had a Word For It—Harris—42 St., W. of B'way.
The Green Pastures—Mansfield—47 St., W. of B'way.
Three's a Crowd—Selwyn—W. 42 St.
Torch Song—Plymouth—45 St., W. of B'way.
Twelfth Night—Maxine Elliott—39 St., E. of B'way.

### Films

News Reel—Embassy—B'way and 46 St.
Outward Bound—Warner—B'way and 52 St.
Zwei Herzen Im 3-4 Takt—55 St. Playhouse—E. of Seventh Ave.
Anybody's Woman, beginning Saturday, Nov. 8; Animal Crackers, beginning Wednesday, Nov. 12—Little Carnegie—57 St., E. of Seventh Ave.
The Spoilers, beginning Saturday, Nov. 8; White Hell of Pitz Palu, beginning Wednesday, Nov. 12—Plaza—58 St., E. of Madison Ave.
Ten Days That Shook The World, beginning Friday, Nov. 7; Czar Ivan The Terrible, beginning Tuesday, Nov. 11—Eighth St. Playhouse—52 W. Eighth St.
For Hennes Skull (Swedish)—Fifth Ave. Playhouse—66 Fifth Ave.

### Discussion and Lectures

Changing Sex Standards, Symposium—Friendship Tours.—See advertisement.
"Is Religion Necessary?" Debate: Clarence Darrow vs. Dr. Nathan Krass, Saturday evening, Nov. 15—Mecca Temple—55 St., E. of Seventh Ave.
Rand School of Social Science Lectures—See Advertisement.
The Peoples Institute—Nov. 7-15. See advertisement.
Progressive Open Forum—Program, see advertisement.
The Life Pattern and its meaning of Life, by Dr. Alfred Adler—Auditorium, 150 W. 85 St., Tuesday evening, Nov. 11.
Socialism and Communism will follow the collapse of Capitalism—Scott Nearing vs. Harry Waton—Community Church—34 St. and Park Ave., Friday evening, Nov. 14.

* Drama. † Comedy. ‡ Musical.


**The Perfect Romance With the Perfect Cast!**

**OUTWARD BOUND**

Warner Bros. Thea.
B'way & 52nd St.
Daily: 2:45—8:45
Sun.: 3—6—8:45
Good Seats: 50c, 75c, $1.00

Anniversary Revivals

Nov. 7, 8, 9, 10 — Ten Days That Shook The World
Nov. 11, 12, 13 — Czar Ivan The Terrible

AMKINO RELEASE

8th Street Playhouse
52 West 8th St.—Spring 5095. Direction: Joseph R. Fliesler
POP. PRICES
Cont. Noon to Midnight


## FILMS THEATERS


**"LYSISTRATA"**

"If you can throw back your head and laugh, unabashed, at the grandly comic spectacle of life, you will find this 'Lysistrata' an event you will long remember."—*Richard Lockbridge, The Sun*

FORTY-FOURTH ST. Theatre, W. of B'way. Eves. 8:40 Matinees: Wed. and Sat., 2:40.

"A SMASH HIT"—*Walter Winchell, Mirror*
"Joe Cook perfectly marvelous and the show perfectly beautiful"—*Heywood Broun, Nation.*

**JOE COOK** in **"FINE and DANDY"**

HIS NEWEST, MADDEST MUSICAL
ERLANGER'S THEATRE—W. 44 St.—PEN. 7963
Evening 8:30; Matinees, Wed. and Sat., 2:30

*Theatre Guild Presents*

**ELIZABETH, THE QUEEN**

GUILD THEA. 52nd Street, West of Broadway. Eves., 8:40. Mats., Thurs. & Sat., 2:40.

**ROAR CHINA**

MARTIN BECK THEA. 45th Street, West of Eighth Avenue. Eves., 8:50. Mats. Thurs. & Sat., 2:50.

Wm. Harris, Jr., presents Zoe Atkins' comedy

**"The Greeks Had a Word For It"**

"A perfectly played, smartly written, boldly spoken story of three ex-Follies girls on the make."—BURNS MANTLE, *Daily News.*

SAM H. HARRIS THEATRE West 42nd St. Eves. 8:50 Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

Kenneth Macgowan and Joseph Verner Reed present

**JANE COWL**

in a new production of Shakespeare's comedy

**TWELFTH NIGHT**

with LEON QUARTERMAINE

MAXINE ELLIOTT'S THEA. 39th St., E. of B'way. — Eves. at 8:40. Mats. Wed. and Sat., 2:40.


## DEBATE


DEBATE

**"IS CENSORSHIP NECESSARY?"**

JOHN S. SUMNER Says YES vs. ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS Says NO

HARRY HANSEN, *Chairman*

COMMUNITY CHURCH 34th & Park Ave. Fri. Eve., Nov. 7th

TICKETS $1.00—$.75—$.50

On Sale now at Columbia University Book Store—Rand Book Store, 7 East 15th St.—and at Office of Young People's Socialist League, 7 East 15th St. ALG. 4620.




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

☐ ☐ DEBATE ☐ ☐

**Debate** Will the **Night** of *Barbarism* or the **Dawn** of *Communism* Follow the **Twilight** of *Empire?*

*Resolved:*

**"SOCIALISM and COMMUNISM will follow the collapse of CAPITALISM!"**

**SCOTT NEARING**

Author of "Twilight of Empire," etc. says YES

**HARRY WATON**

Noted Author and Lecturer says NO

ROGER N. BALDWIN, *Chairman*

Friday evening, November 14, 1930
at 8:15

COMMUNITY CHURCH
34th Street and Park Avenue, New York

TICKETS $1.00, BALCONY 50c.

Obtainable at Community Church, 34th Street and Park Ave.; Rand School, 7 East 15th Street; Labor Temple, 14th Street and Second Ave.; Room 702, 110 W. 40th Street; Rational Vegetarian Restaurant, 518 Brighton Beach Ave., Coney Island.

AUSPICES WORKERS EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTE

☐ LUNCHEON ☐ DISCUSSIONS ☐

**LEAGUE *for* INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY**

Saturday Luncheon Discussions in the month of November

CHICAGO

1 P.M., the Men's City Club, 315 Plymouth Court
Tickets—Members $1.00 Non-members $1.15

**November 8th—Unemployment:** Speakers, Paul Douglas, Abraham Epstein, James Donnelly. Chairman: B. N. Squires.

**November 22nd—Racketeers De Luxe:** Among the Speakers will be Fred D. Pasley, author of Al Capone. Chairman: Paul Hutchinson.

**Make Reserations at L.I.D. office, 20 West Jackson Boulevard**

DETROIT

8 P.M., Webster Hall

**November 14th—PROGRESSIVE CITY GOVERNMENT:** Speakers, E. W. McFarland, J. J. Sherman and W. W. Denton.

PHILADELPHIA

12:45 P.M., at Boothby's Restaurant
Tickets $1.00 for members. Non-members $1.25

**November 29th—Unemployment:** Speakers, Heywood Broun, A. J. Muste. Chairman: Clair Wilcox.

**Make Reservations at L.I.D. office, 413 South Carlisle Street**

NEW YORK

1 P.M., at the Hotel Woodstock, 127 West 43rd Street
Tickets—$1.25 for members. Non-members $1.50

**November 8th—Unemployment:** Speakers, Heywood Broun, Charles Lathrop, Darwin J. Meserole, Harry W. Laidler, Edward C. Rybicki and William Hodson. Chairman, Paul Blanshard.

**November 29th—Getting Ready for the Next War:** Norman Thomas and others. Chairman: Reinhold Niebuhr.

**Make Reservations at L.I.D. office, 112 East 19th Street**


the three Western films under review. "Billy the Kid" (Capitol) tells a credible story distinguished by well-marked characterization and natural dialogue. It is these qualities, however, which while enhancing its realism, also deflate its romance and retard its movement. "The Big Trail" (Roxy) is more conventional in characterization and dialogue, but lays greater stress on mass scenes and panoramic effects, in which it is undeniably highly impressive. It must be pointed out, however, that sound has added nothing to the appeal of the picture perhaps has even taken something away by its stilted dialogue whereas in its purely visual effects the film is reminiscent of many other historical "epics" of the West. Finally we have "The Girl of the Golden West" (Warner's Strand), a screen version of Belasco's play, which attempts to get away from the stereotyped psychology of the Western romance and in doing so achieves neither romance nor psychology. An interesting feature of the first two pictures mentioned is the employment of the wide screen, but one cannot help regretting that neither King Vidor nor Raoul Walsh saw any uses for this valuable device other than those enhancing realism.

Of the foreign talkies so far shown in New York two have attracted considerable attention. The British one called "Murder" (George M. Cohan), the work of Alfred Hitchcock, who had directed "Blackmail," is excellently acted and shows commendable desire to make the utmost use of the cinematic possibilities of sound. Unfortunately, the sense of dramatic and cinematic style is not a strong point with Mr. Hitchcock, and his would-be original idea of getting inside the mind of the characters results only in a few weird effects without much dramatic significance.

The German talkie "Zwei Herzen im ¾ Takt" (Fifty-fifth Street Playhouse), besides providing good comedy and passable music, is interesting for the attempt to assemble different sounds by the method of "montage," as in the kitchen scene, for instance, where an amusing sound sequence is built up by showing different-sounding utensils one after another.

ALEXANDER BAKSHY

## Contributors to This Issue

EDWARD G. ERNST and EMIL M. HARTL, authors of "The Steel Mills Today," are students at the School of Theology, Boston University.

DEVERE ALLEN, editor of the *World Tomorrow*, is at present in England.

T. L. SCHOLTZ is on the staff of the School of Education of the University of Southern California.

CHARLES MORROW WILSON is the author of "Acres of Sky."

IRWIN EDMAN is assistant professor of philosophy at Columbia University.

V. F. CALVERTON is the author of "Three Strange Lovers."

WILLIAM MACDONALD is a regular contributor of historical and political reviews to *The Nation.*

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL is professor of English literature in Loyola University and one of the editors of *Poetry: A Magazine of Verse.*

JAMES B. WHARTON is the author of "Squad."

WILLIAM SEAGLE is the author of "Cato, or the Future of Censorship."

JOHN MASON BROWN, dramatic critic of the New York *Evening Post*, is the author of "Upstage."



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# The Evils of Higher Education

THE following account of the spread of higher education in Japan and the evils attendant upon it was written by Dr. S. Washio for the *Trans-Pacific,* a Tokio weekly review, from which it is reprinted here.

Tokio distinctly leads other cities of the world in the number of universities it possesses. There are more than twenty universities in Tokio and at least half of them can compare favorably with any large university of the world in the number of students enrolled. This unparalleled centralization of higher education does not mean that the rest of Japan is poorly furnished with institutions of higher learning. Outside Tokio there are about ten universities and ten special colleges, fairly well distributed geographically. There is a university also in Korea and one in Taiwan. Japan also leads the world (except America) in the number of universities in the country. If our higher schools" are to be taken as the equivalent of the undergraduate course of the American university, this country probably leads even America in the number of institutions of higher education it possesses.

The numbers of students enrolled in universities, colleges and higher schools, and middle schools have been as follows:

| | *Middle schools* | *Colleges and higher schools* | *Universities* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1912..... | 305,700 | 42,100 | 8,900 |
| 1916..... | 375,500 | 50,400 | 9,700 |
| 1921..... | 550,100 | 64,900 | 26,200 |
| 1925..... | 829,800 | 87,600 | 46,700 |
| 1928..... | 975,200 | 98,900 | 80,900 |

That is to say, in the past seventeen years the number of students in middle schools has trebled, the number of students in colleges and higher schools has more than doubled, and that in universities has increased almost tenfold. During this period the number of grammar-school students has increased 30 per cent. Japan had 80,900 university students in 1928 and turned out 21,400 graduates!

I shall omit further reference to statistics, but during the same period the national educational expenditure (that of the Ministry of Education) has increased tenfold and the local expenditure (borne by local governments) has quintupled. The former stands now at 140,000,000 yen and the latter at 420,000,000 yen. The total is greater than the expenditure for the army and navy.

This record of educational expansion is unrivaled in the world except in America. And what results has it produced? The evil of the spread of higher education, as we have it in this country, is many-sided and clearly definable, while its good effects are hard to define accurately and concretely. There are four distinct evils: first, "the grind of examination"; second, the unemployment of graduates; third, student strikes; fourth, student Marxism. All these are distinctly Japanese educational products.

It may appear strange that with the unparalleled number of institutions of higher learning, Japanese students have to struggle with competitive entrance examinations, but they do most fiercely, from the grammar school up to the university. There are enough institutions for all applicants, but the fight is to enter schools of better reputation. The imperial universities are the goal of every ambitious student. They have to be entered through higher schools, so that higher schools are the object of every ambitious middle-school boy. Certain middle schools have the reputation for turning out a high percentage of successful candidates for higher schools. These middle schools are preferred, therefore, by ambitious grammar-school children and their parents. . . .

To see how "hellish" is the competition, one may read, for instance, the report of the Mussashino Higher School. It is one of a few private higher schools established outside the government higher schools with the object of preparing boys for the imperial universities. By concentrating its effort on that purpose this school had in its first trial the record success of 100 per cent. But in order to obtain this result the original enrolment of 91 students, obtained through careful selective entrance examination, had been reduced to 38 at the time of graduation. Of the others 27 had to be dropped behind by the class examinations of the school itself, 19 were obliged to leave the school, and 7 died from overstudy. . . .

Why are the imperial universities so preferred at such sacrifice by aspirants for a higher education? In literature, journalism, business, and other occupations where chances are comparatively freely open to graduates of all universities, the imperial-university graduates have by no means shown superior talents or qualifications. But there are two reasons for students' preference of the imperial universities. The one is that the imperial-university graduates can hope for a better pull with officialdom. The other is that they have a better chance of obtaining employment.

But the chance of finding employment after graduation from the imperial universities is about 40 per cent on an average. The chance for the graduates of all universities (including the imperial universities) has been generally estimated at about 20 per cent for the past three or four years. The chances this year are probably much less. This means that our universities turn out annually about 20,000 graduates who go out into society as jobless men. Since the surplus is increasing every year those who could not obtain employment in the year of their graduation have a poorer prospect as years roll by. The press has recently reported that a number of university graduates have been found mingled in the rank and file of *kuzuya* (those who call from door to door for waste paper and other rubbish). It is said that university graduates applying for work at employment agencies are shy of stating their academic qualifications for fear that it will debar them from obtaining work. To this extent they are disillusioned of the economic value of higher education. Having spent the best part of their growing age in classroom work or on the athletic field, they are physically unfit for sustained manual labor. They are past the age of learning the trades of skilled artisans. As retail traders they are no match against those who have grown up in their trade from early boyhood. They are useless men dissatisfied with themselves and others, good only for playing lawn tennis or baseball or discoursing on Marxism.

The third evil, student strikes, has become a byword of Japanese education. The recent strike of the Nippon University closely resembled an industrial dispute. Students demanded that the tuition should be cut, various special fees abolished, the school cooperative store run by themselves, the teaching staff improved, and that they participate in the management of the school. . . .

Another recent student strike, that of the Urawa Higher School, was specially related to the fourth evil, student Marxism. This strike showed that the restlessness of students is widespread even among that selected 10 per cent who were able to enter a government higher school. The cause of this strike

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# TRUMPET

## *to the People*

*"FOR twelve years it* (The Nation) *has been dedicated to the perpetuation of principles which are representative of the worthiest striving in the American experiment. It has left an imperishable mark on contemporary American thought. With all its internationalism, it has kept alive a peculiarly American spirit and tradition of independence and decency in an epoch of great confusion."*

Thus ***The World Tomorrow*** for November characterizes the career of ***The Nation*** under the editorship of Oswald Garrison Villard.

And the writer might have added that ***The Nation*** today is an outstanding interpreter of its times to that section of the public which still adheres to the fine old tenet that American government should be for, by, and of the people—rather than *on* the people.

Such serial features as these further emphasize the unique value of ***The Nation*** as interpreter of the major trends and problems of the day:

**CHAIN STORES *vs.***
**INDEPENDENTS**
*(beginning in this issue)*
*and*
**UNEMPLOYMENT PREVENTION**
*(a series by the Editors to begin next month)*

To obtain a year of ***The Nation***, send $1 with the coupon below, and a dollar a month for four months thereafter.

THE NATION 20 Vesey St. NEW YORK

For the enclosed $1 send me the next 52 issues of The Nation. I will pay the balance in four monthly installments of $1 each.

*Name* .....

*Address* .....

11-12-30


was a hostile comment made in the student journal of the scho against the anti-Marxian lecture delivered by an itinerant le turer commissioned by the Ministry of Education. The com ment embarrassed the principal of the school. He ordered tha the journal be suspended and the students retaliated with strike.

The present government, thinking that it is unwise to tr simply to suppress Marxism, attempted the propagation of anti Marxian doctrines. The attempt was made in two ways. Firs the government selected and translated anti-Marxian litera ture. Unfortunately the selection did not reflect credit on th government's scholarship. Petty authors were picked and th value of their works was well known in advance by the Marxia scholars of the country. This brought the government's attemp into ridicule. Second, the government commissioned severa itinerant lecturers to go over the country giving anti-Marxia lectures. Here again the lecturers selected were mostly me notorious everywhere just for that sort of job. Students wer prejudiced against them in advance. The strike of the Uraw Higher School was a revelation of this general prejudice o students. . . .

In the round-up of Communists of two years ago in thi country a certain judge observed that the students involve were mostly intellectually gifted boys. They had intellect as wel as heart. But the same wise observer said also that me who remained Socialists at forty years of age had no intellect Student Marxism will be outgrown. They will not be intellectually gifted boys if they do not outgrow their youthful enthusiasm for so simple a doctrine as straight Marxism. But at the bottom of the remarkably enduring popularity of Marxism among the students of this country lies the practical problem o unemployment after graduation. It is even in the minds of higher-school boys. Student Marxism will not be cured until the present system of higher education is scrapped. . . .


**REAL HARRIS TWEED** Direct from the Makers. Suit-lengths by Mail. Postage Paid. Sample free on stating shades desired, and if for Gents or Ladies wear. NEWALL, 150 Stornoway, Scotland.

**RESORTS**

*We are now taking reservations for the Fall and Winter season. ¶WESTERN VIEW FARM, New Milford, Conn., 83 miles from Columbus Circle, elevation 1000 feet. ¶Hospitality that is unique. It brings back friends year after year. Eleventh season. ¶Riding, mountain climbing, tennis, or rest and quiet if you want it. ¶Interesting people. ¶Rates $8 a day, $49 a week. Telephone New Milford 440.*

***Other Resort Advertising on page following.***

## *TO LANDLORDS:*

If you are one of the many landlords who have "just a few apartments vacant" and want to rent them to responsible people, *The Nation* Real Estate Columns can put you in touch with more than 40,000 people of the type you want to interest.

*Telephone us for rates*

THE NATION, 20 Vesey St. Fitzroy 9074

*When writing to advertisers please mention* The Nation


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED